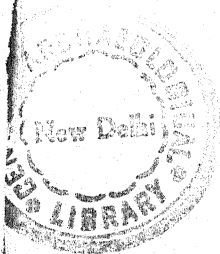


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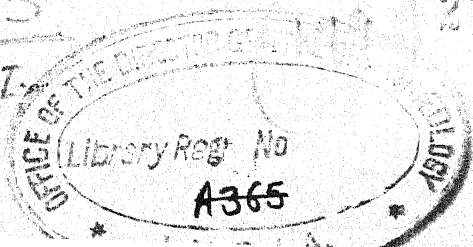
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## RECENT IRANIAN RESEARCHES BY EUROPEAN SCHOLARS—II

BY DR. JEHANGIR C. TAVADIA, B.A., PH.D.

*Lecturer in Hamburg University.*

7. On Iranian Influence in Central Asia and from there elsewhere.

A. v. Le Coq: Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens, mit 255 Abbildungen. (P. 107) 4° Dietrich Reimer, Ernst Vohsen, Berlin, 1925.

The vast materials relating chiefly to art and literature brought from Central Asia by the enterprising explorers of different nations are scattered in costly and bulky volumes. They are available owing to their very nature, to a selected few, but are inaccessible to the wider circle not only of general readers but also of humbler students who cannot afford to be ignorant about this untold treasure of the past. Therefore it was a very happy idea of Prof. v. Le Coq to issue this picture album, handy and at the same time comprehensive in a way. It is selected from those publications, a list of which is appended. The Introduction deals with the cultural relations of the East and the West. Even in very early days there were commercial relations between them which must have resulted in mutual borrowings. These were increased when some European and Iranian peoples, viz. the Tokharians and the Sakas, penetrated through Central Asia right up to China. Some of these peoples had their original home in Southern Russia, to judge from the peculiar grave-sculptures to be found in both places. Greek art and culture, based upon Egyptian and Mesopotamian models, followed Alexander's march in the East, and found a new



home in Eastern Iran and North-Western India where his successors ruled for a long time. From these parts it took wide strides through Afghanistan and through Kashmir towards Turkistan, China, Corea and Japan (see the account of the two works below), and through the Indian Peninsula towards Java and Further India. This is rightly called the Triumphant March of Buddhism. Then the next movement was in the contrary direction, from the East to the West: the Huns and especially their Iranian allies, the Alans, the forefathers of the modern Ossetes (Irons), carried eastern things, chiefly weapons and articles of dress, to the West as far as Portugal and North Africa. The Arabian conquests and the Wars of the Holy Cross are too well known to need further comment. All this time commercial relations played a great part in making cultural borrowings a common phenomenon. It is in Eastern Turkistan that we have discovered the connecting link between the East and the West, thus disproving the independent origin of the Chinese civilization. The discoveries have further shown that Eastern Turkistan was inhabited by Aryan or rather Indo-European peoples up to the middle of the 8th century when it was partly conquered by the Turks. The ruling people in Khotan were Indians, in Yarkand and Kashgar Iranians (Sakas and Sogdians), and in Kucha, Qara-Shahr-Kurla and Turfan Tokharians (of European origin). All of these peoples adopted from the Hellenised Indo-Iranian territories the gospel of Buddha, and therewith the western art and technic; and passed it over to the Chinese who then produced what is known as the Buddhist art of the Far East on this basis during, say, 600-900 A.C. China influenced only its western neighbours Corea and Japan, not northern and western ones who followed Iranian models. Already in the 8th century the Uighur Turks began to occupy this country (hence the name Turkistan) as can be concluded from the writings of this date discovered in Khocho, their capital

near Turfan, and the whole of it fell into their hands by the 10th century. The kings and nobles followed the religion of Mani, but their subjects continued to be Buddhists and a few of them were Nestorian Christians. The script used by them was either Manichean or Sogdian, and though the monks studied Chinese for reading the Buddhist texts in this language, their culture bore thorough Indo-Iranian traits, except in the case of painting which was more or less Chinese. Later on the Mongols superseded the Uighurs, but they adopted the culture of the conquered, and spread it far and wide by means of their extensive conquests from China to Europe.

Prof. v. Le Coq gives a connected view of the figures reproduced in the book. As regards the dress he concludes that its origin is Sasanian, or to be more exact east-Sasanian. Some of the details such as the tying of swords on the girdle and carrying of fumigating lamps remind us of the Achaemenian types. Similarly the weapons are proved to be chiefly of Iranian model. Persia is, in the opinion of the learned author, the master manufacturer of arms in Asia; its direct or indirect influence is to be seen everywhere. We cannot give all the details here; we must satisfy ourselves by saying that valuable remarks about the following weapons, their different types, their origin, and their use elsewhere are to be found here: armour, shield, sword (also to be found with civil dress as has been common in Persia since early times), dagger, banner, club (one of Hellenic type, the other of Indian type), battle-axe, lasso, bow and arrow with their quivers, harness, stirrup (not used by Iranians) and whip. As regards the paintings and sculptures the chief influence is that of Hellenised parts of Iran and India where the figure of Apollo or of Dionysus was transformed into that of Buddha. These paintings etc. form the basis of the Chinese art. Here is described and discussed the evolution of the following pieces: Cornucopia,

Dragon, Ganymedes myth, Christopher, Earth Goddess, Buddha as ascetic, female acrobats, flying Nike figures, Wind Gods, Gorgoneion, Chariot of the Sun, Dance of Death, Coffin, etc. The author shows how certain details are changed owing to misunderstanding, and as regards human figures the change in the nose and eyes is due to the change in the ideal of beauty. For the architecture the so-called lantern-roof and the window-grate are described and discussed. The former construction was misunderstood by the Chinese; the same was the case with the specific Iranian cupola *gumbad* (in which the corners have shell-like cupolas) or it was found too difficult to be copied.

The figures, 255 in all, are excellently executed on plates and they are so arranged that one can control the above discussion about their relation to one another. (Still one would have liked to have the table of contents for easy reference). Their date of origin, their present place of reference, and their short description are put down below them. The work fulfils its purpose in the best possible manner, and we are thankful to the learned author and also to the enterprising publisher.

As the same question is often touched upon in the following works of the author we may notice them here :

A. v. Le Coq: *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ost-Turkistan. Berichte und Abenteuer der 2. und 3. Deutschen Turfan Expedition, mit 108 Abbildungen im Text und auf 52 Tafeln sowie 4 Karten.* (P. XI, 166) J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1926.

—*Von Land und Leuten in Ost-Turkistan. Berichte und Abenteuer der 4. Deutschen Turfan-Expedition, mit 156 Abbildungen im Text und auf 48 Tafeln sowie 5 Karten.* (P. VII, 183) J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1928.

Both of these works are primarily meant for the general reader but they are not without interest and even importance for the student of eastern civilization. One of them contains 108 figures (mostly on tables) and 4 maps, the other 156 figures similarly and 5 maps. Their lists are given in both cases, but unfortunately the plates are not inserted beside the corresponding text but generally elsewhere. If the former process was not possible, they could have been well placed at the end or at the beginning. As to their selection there can be no question, they are fully representative and give us good insight in the present conditions of life of the country and in its past civilization. The descriptive part is extremely happy and simple in expression, and not less learned and informing in matter. We are given a very fair idea of the dangers and difficulties, and also happy incidents met with during the travel and during the work of the last three German expeditions in Turkistan. The whole account reads like a romantic tale full of adventures and novelties of various kinds. The author is a keen observer of man and nature, and is gifted with humour, the touches of which are to be found in proper places. There is a mass of worth-knowing details scattered throughout the volumes, but it is a real pity that there is no index, and hence they will not be used to the full extent.

A part of the Introduction to the first book and the conclusion of the other deal with the cultural relations of the East and the West. In the 1st century A.C. Buddhist missionaries from Gandhara entered Turkistan through two different ways. In one case their art (based upon Greek one) was influenced by Iran, in the other by India. Their cave-temples and cloisters in Turkistan are constructed after the Iranian fashion, say, as in Bamian; also their names in both places signify the same thing, *viz.* '1000 rooms'. Buildings are constructed either after the Iranian fashion, the peculiar *gumbaḍ*, or after the Indian one, the *stūpa*; there

is no trace of Chinese architecture in them. When the Sakas and the Tokharians conquered Greco-Buddhist colonies, they adopted their culture and faith, and at the same time did not remain uninfluenced by their Iranian neighbours during the Parthian and Sasanian reigns. The Huns and their Iranian allies, the Alans (the modern Ossetes, calling themselves Iron) brought not insignificant cultural goods like weapons, garments etc. to the West. Later on when the Uighur Turks adopted the religion of Mani, the art of painting,—(which played a great part therein)—based upon Sasanian model, was introduced in the country, from which it was carried by the Mongols to China where it came under its influence and then was brought back to Persia. After some remarks on Turkistan since the coming of Islam, we are given a short account of the former expeditions and their extraordinary discoveries. Then follow useful notes on different types of painting, on Mani and his teachings, and the land and the people in our days. These charming and inspiring volumes are issued in an attractive form and still at a moderate price, for which the publisher deserves our thanks.

8. On the Origin of the Avesta Alphabet.

Junker, H. F. J.: *Das Awesta-Alphabet und der Ursprung der armenischen und georgischen Schrift.* p. 139. Verlag der Asia Major, Leipzig 1927.

To Andreas belongs the credit of properly showing that the Avesta was originally written in the Pahlavi alphabet, from which it was transcribed in the present one in the Sasanian days, and that the mistakes committed thereby can be corrected by retranscribing the Avesta in that original alphabet. Many scholars have applied this test in making conjectures about wrong forms, although there is opposition as regards his views about the pronunciation of the Avesta letters and their derivation from the

Pahlavi signs, either simple or compound (Abhandlungen des XIII. Internationalen Orientalisten Kongresses, Hamburg 1902, pp. 99-106). Here is made a new attempt to settle the origin of the Avesta alphabet (and also of the Armenian and Georgian alphabets with which we are not chiefly concerned in this place). Unfortunately the monograph lacks a great deal as regards disposition; there is neither a list of contents nor an index nor even head-lines to the paragraphs. This renders our work rather difficult. The appended tables, however, are very clear and hence helpful. The Avesta alphabet bears some marks of Greek influence, *viz.* in the use of the signs for short vowels, and in the use of the point for separating words, both of which are unknown in Semitic alphabets. In tracing the origin of the Avesta letters the author takes into account both the scripts, Pahlavik and Pārsīy, used in the Sasanian inscriptions; whereas Prof. Andreas did not count the former. Secondly the consideration of Armenian and Georgian alphabets offers good support to the new theory, which is no doubt, superior to all former attempts which are shown to be wrong.

As a general rule the voiceless sounds are expressed through or are derived from the Pahlavik signs, whereas the voiced ones through Pārsīy. The exceptional cases are those of *p* and *w* which have exchanged the groups for unknown reasons. A glance at the table where the signs are put side by side shows that this theory is correct without any doubt in most cases, and where there is some doubt the author tries to solve it on the grounds of paleography, phonology, etc. In some cases like those of *g* and *w* the derivations suggested by Andreas, *viz.* from (Book Pahlavi) *gu* and *up* (supported by Lommel, see below) seems to be apparently preferable, but Junker warns us against such deceptive resemblances. As regards the origin of the vowel signs the difference is still greater, except per-

haps in the case of  $\bar{a}$  which is  $a$  plus the sign of elongation. The sign  $\bar{a}$  ( $\hat{a}$ ) is proved to be derived from Pārsīy "he" (the sign which takes the form of  $mn$  in Book Pahlavi). Then  $\bar{i}$  is not, say, Book Pahlavi  $\bar{i}$  plus the sign of elongation which according to the author is paleographically a necessary part of it. Therefore  $\bar{i}$  is to be considered a cursive and therefore a shortened form of  $\bar{i}$ . The distinction between these signs was introduced, says the author, under the influence of Persian-Arabic signs for  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{i}$ , and that too first in the Pazand and then in the Avesta, both being written in the same alphabet. This is, to my mind, not correct; leaving aside the influence of Persian-Arabic writing we may point out that the Pazand, *i.e.* the phonetical transcription of Pahlavi in the Avesta letters, is a product of Indian Dasturs and was never in vogue in Persia. In the table the development of  $\bar{i}$  is shown from the Pahlavīk  $\bar{i}$ , but I feel not at all convinced, unless we adopt the form of  $\bar{i}$  placed in brackets, which then can hardly be compared with Pahlavīk  $\bar{i}$ . I do not see why  $\bar{i}$  (of the old type) should not be derived from two Pahlavīy  $\bar{i}$ -s, the second being written somewhat below the line. The author himself says that  $\bar{i}$  is a short form of the initial  $y$  of the Iranian type which (and also the Indian  $y$ ) he derives from two  $\bar{i}$ -s (pp. 40 ff.). At least we require some further light on this point. Similarly it seems more probable that  $\bar{e}$  (or  $e$ ) is derived from two, and not one, Pārsīy  $\bar{i}$ -s. I further believe that this method will hold good also in the case of  $\bar{u}$ ; *i.e.* we can trace it to two Pārsīy  $u$ -s, although in this case Junker's theory that  $\bar{u}$  is derived from one Pārsīy  $u$ , and that  $u$  is its cursive form, does not appear far-fetched in the table. Moreover there is every reason to believe that the long vowels are the original signs from which the short ones are formed; and this of course goes in favour of the author, and so also the fact that short and long vowels are mixed up in the Avesta. Both  $\bar{o}$  and—*it is to be noted—*

the initial *v* are derived from two Pārsīy *u*-s, and *o* is considered a variant of *ō*. There is no doubt about this. Nor about *ā* which is proved to come from *a* and "he", (see above on *ə*). Junker derives *q* from *a* and Pārsīy *n* and *g*; but are not *a* and Pahlavīk *n* enough from the stand-point of both pronunciation and paleography? Again *a* does not receive its complete form in the other case; and compare also the formation of special *n* which results from *a* and Pahlavīk *m*. The common form of *n* comes from Pārsīy *n*; and *m* from Pārsīy *m*. But *ω* and *ω'* are derived from Pārsīy *h*, and *h* and *i* respectively. These apparently strange facts are well established also on phonological grounds. The letter *l*, occurring in the Pazand, is a ligature of *h* and *l*, and its pronunciation is *l*. As regards *š* the author adopts the view of Andreas that it is a ligature of *u*, *h* and *r*; and he settles its pronunciation as *ř*, i.e. spirantic, cerebral *r*, whereby he suggests that Avesta and Afghan or Pashto are closely related to each other. We cannot enter here into the details of his learned discussion which includes also the order in which the letters are given in old MSS. The sibilants *s* and *š* are derived from the corresponding Pārsīy signs; whereas *z* from any of the two *z*-s, and *ž* most probably from Pahlavīk *č*. In the table *č* is shown coming from Pahlavīk *č*, whereas elsewhere it is said to be a shortened form of *ǰ* (p. 118) which is derived from Pārsīy *č*.—Results gained for the Avestic phonology need not be mentioned specially; in most cases they are evident from what is said about the signs.

There are 13 tables most of which exhibit the development of Avesta, Armenian and Georgian letters. One of them gives the script of the Pahlavi-Psalms, and another a piece from the strange Book-Pahlavi writing, the source of which is not mentioned. It is taken from the Maneckji Limji Hataria Library MS. which contains the Pahlavi text



*čemik i kustik*, and which was with me in 1923-24. Having found that one of the pieces, the *Afrin*, was written in the strange type, I brought it to the notice of the author who was already at that time occupied with the question of the Avesta alphabet. The two other known MSS. in which the Avesta letters are not of the ordinary type are taken into consideration in this study. (The strange type in the Xorda-Avesta MS. J9 is considered by the author to be very old or of Sasanian form. But it cannot be said, either from this fact or from Inostrantsev's article in the *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute* No. 1, that the Parsi colony in India already during the Sasanian rule is a settled fact (p. 52). The author quotes antiquated views on this subject, as he seems to be unaware of S. H. Hodivala's researches.) It would have been better, if the author would have taken into account also the Manichean and Sogdian scripts to make his work as complete as possible. As it is, it solves the question in a very satisfactory manner, and the author deserves our thanks, and so also the publisher for reprinting it from his journal *Caucasica* where it was originally published.

Here it should be added that as regards *w* Lommel supports the theory of Andreas in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 6. 152 ff. where the discussion on *frašupayeiti* (Yt. 8. 33) deserves special attention; it is proved by means of variants, parallel passages etc. to stand for *frašācayeiti*; in other words *up* = *w* (wrongly for *v*).

9. On the Aryan Doctrine of Fire and the light it throws on the Avesta.

10. On Miθra and allied subjects.

Hertel, J.: Die Arische Feuerlehre I. Teil. (P. 188).  
H. Haessel, Leipzig, 1925. (Indo-Iranische Quellen  
und Forschungen Heft VI.)

This volume chiefly deals with some pairs of Indo-Iranian words that signify fire or light in its different aspects, by means of subjecting a number of passages where they occur to a strict criticism. The index of subject-matter gives a clear view of the main facts on the Aryan Doctrine of Fire. I have to postpone my account of it till the appearance of the second part. Meanwhile the following work may well be taken up.

Hertel, J.: *Die Sonne und Mithra im Awesta* (P. XXVIII, 318) H. Haessel, Leipzig, 1927. (Indo-Iranische Forschungen Heft IX).

The work under review is replenished with matters of no mean importance in all of its parts. We cannot deal with them all nor fully ; we shall just touch upon some of them. The Preface contains some further proofs of the correctness of the author's theory about the Doctrine of Fire. He assures us that the new meanings (which are not in the least unsupported by etymology) attributed by him to certain terms in a former volume of the series (I. I. Q. F. VI) hold good throughout the entire literature, and adds that by applying this key one comes to a correct understanding and better appreciation of the texts. This he does here in the case of Yt. 1, and shows that the names of Ahura Mazdāh therein are not put down without any order, but that they are arranged according to a fixed principle. Similarly he points out that it is not without reason that the list of mountains precedes the account of *xvarnah* 'the royal light' in Yt. 19 ;—the reason is that they are supposed to be receptacles of light. Further the Yasna is no longer to be considered a later compilation, monotonous and meaningless to a high degree, put together by the ignorant clergy ; it is a well considered and logically thought out liturgical text. This he shows by translating anew some of its typical passages, and by emphasising that the Avestic conception of

the person includes everything,—also a material thing and an abstract idea. There is a note on this last point in his Introduction which also deals with the Yasts in general and the Yt. 10 in particular, and above all with the Avestic Doctrine of Fire. This is in brief as follows.

Fire, which pervades everything, is the principle of life ; it is warm and light (the highest form *aša*) in good creations, whereas cold and dark (the highest form *druj* = *nasu* 'putrefaction') in bad creations. The learned author will be pleased to learn that the GBd. account of the genesis fully testifies his theory, as can be seen even from the summary given in the Introduction to the work by Anklesaria who rightly says about the chapter: "After a close study of the language, it appears that the text has been prepared from a Pahlavi translation with commentary of some Avesta work, such as the Dāmdāt Nask . . . ." (XXII). The words warm and cold are not used here, but they occur elsewhere: *dravand mart mēnišn sarttar*, . . . *ahrav mart must garmtar*, the mind of a 'wicked' man is the coldest, . . . the fist of a 'pious' man is the warmest, *Mānikān i Yrišt i Fryān* 3. 5, 14. The constant struggle between the two fires lies in intermingling in each other. The process is expressed by *raēθ* 'to mix' and its derivations. It is wrong to suppose that besides this *raēθ* 'to mix' there is another root *raēθ* 'to die'; as a matter of fact the latter is a developed or concluded meaning from the former. An irrecoverable mixture is death, it is called *para-iristi* 'the highest mixture'. A partial mixture is sickness, to recover from which one must try *yaozđātī* (it is not a purificatory ceremony but an exorcism)—as described in the V., especially 19. 20 ff. where we learn that it is *voḥu manah* 'the shining thought', one of the fires of heart, that is attacked and that requires defence or support. Another term for the struggle is *band* and more common *hā(y)*, both meaning 'to

bind, to fetter'. The epithet of Arədvī, viz. *anāhitā* is to be connected with *hā(y)*, then it would mean 'unfettered'. She is so designated, because she "regularly streams forth in winter as in summer" (Yt. 5. 5), unlike other waters which are frozen in winter, or to speak in the terms of the Avesta, are fettered by winter, one of the bad creations. Just as dark fire goes into good creations, and by destroying the bright fire therein kills them, so does the bright fire with respect to bad creations. This belief and this alone makes it clear why we are told in the V. 5. 35 ff., 12. 21 ff. that the corpse of a bad creation does not infect, whereas that of a good creation does;—because the former is possessed by bright fire, whereas the latter by dark fire. Also the practice of the *sag-dīd* finds a rational explanation in this Doctrine of Fire. The act of seeing, says the author, was considered by the Indo-Iranians as the act of radiating light, (which was in one's body), through the eyes, and not as the effect of light on the retina, (for details see I I Q F. 6. 32 f.) Again an opposing power was destroyed by radiating light, i.e. by looking or staring at it. In other words just as the 'evil eye' could harm, so also the 'good eye'. Now among the domestic animals the eyes of the dog only (the cat was not yet known to the Aryans) glittered during the night, and it was in the darkness that the evil powers were most feared. Owing to these facts the dog's sight was considered especially fit for driving them off; and hence its use in the case of a corpse, one of the abodes of evil. The dog is similarly required while purifying a defiled person (V. 8. 37 f.), a custom still observed in the *barašnūm* ceremony. The belief that the soul remains for three days after death near the head of the dead is also brought in connection with the new theory. The corpse does not show before this time black marks which are the sign of its being cooked or digested by bad fire, and hence the soul as a good creation is there to hinder bad fire till it completes its work.

This explanation does not seem to be correct. The corpse is to be removed soon after death, except in the case of difficulties owing to winter (V. 8. 1 ff.). I believe that the stay of the soul for three days after death is to be connected with the less known belief about its presence at the time of birth, which latter I have postulated from the accounts of the birth of Zoroaster. As a further example of the 'good eye' killing a bad creation, Yt. 19. 84 is quoted, where it is said that Astvat-<sup>\*</sup>ereta will direct his glance upon all bad creations. We can supply another from Pahlavi literature: Zātsparm relates how Zoroaster destroys his rival *Karap* by repeatedly staring at him (see SBE. 47. 150 f., where West has wrongly taken *aš* 'the eye of an evil being' as a logogram for 'life'). The parallel episode in the Dēnkart is not quite clear; here it seems that the power of a spell is tried to the same effect (compare ib. 44). The author applies his theory to some other parts of the Avesta and of the Vedic texts dwelling upon various forms of fire. In one case he seems to go beyond the mark; he says that the denunciation of the harlot and the pederast in the V. has nothing to do with ethics, but simply with the Doctrine of Fire. The harlot mixes the semen of good and bad persons and semen is one of the forms of bright fire, therefore she mixes good and bad fires. The pederast does the same by mixing semen with excrement which is a form of dark fire. The arguments in support of this view are not convincing.

The main part of the work deals with the nature of Miθra as far as the Avesta only is concerned. In order to prove that Miθra is not the sun Hertel first shows the nature of the latter by discussing all the passages where it occurs. The result is that *hvar* (= *xvan*) means 'light of the firmament' in general and 'the sun' in particular, with the epithet *ššaēta* 'shining' in the latter case for the sake of clearness; and that there are no corresponding

points in the nature and activity of the sun and of Miθra. On the contrary both are clearly distinguished. The fact that there are separate prayers, Yašt and Niyāyišn, (Niyāyiš), in honour of both of them shows that they cannot be one and the same. Then the author turns to Miθra. After translating the whole Yt. 10 with linguistic and other notes, he discusses the nature of this Yazata. The passage referring to the single wheel of Miθra's chariot is shown to be very corrupt; in any case it does not point to the sun. At the same time his epithets "possessor of wide cattle pasture-grounds" (cattle = stars), "having ten thousand (originally one thousand) eyes", "having ten thousand (originally one thousand) spies", "having thousand ears", "having a wide watch-tower", "sleepless" and "always awake" leave no doubt whatsoever that Miθra represents the starry heaven and not the sun. And so is Miθra represented in the table 17 of the *Notizie degli scavi di Antichità*, Milano, 1924, his robe being decorated with seven stars, whereas the sun and the moon are given in the corners outside the figure of Miθra. This highly interesting fact can well be compared with the *Škand.vimānīk-vičār* 16. 21 where it is said that the sun and the moon are created "outside the heaven or firmament (*bērōn* [*i*] *āsmān*)".

After describing Miθra's various activities the author shows his relation to other Yazatas. As regards the *dvandva* compound Miθra-Ahura or Ahura-Miθra he opines that it is a later borrowing from or a copy of Mitrá-Váruṇa, and not the direct result of the original Aryan pair of gods. Ahura stands for Ahura Mazdāh, and Ahura Mazdāh has become the fixed name of the highest god only in the later Avesta, and hence the Aryan origin is declared out of the question. But the supposition about a mere copy seems to be unwarranted. If there be some truth in the common belief that Ahura Mazdāh is the Iranian counterpart of

Indian Váruna, then I would suggest that just as Mitra paled before Váruna, so did Ahura before Miθra as far as the pair was concerned. And it is a common fact that Ahura Mazdāh plays, if at all, a very subordinate role in the Yasts. That there was some real connection between Miθra and Ahura Mazdāh can be clearly seen from what the author himself says about their appearance as nature gods. Just as Miθra was night heaven, Ahura Mazdāh was day heaven and then the sun. The last meaning is quite common in east-Iranian dialects. In western Iran, on the contrary, Miθra began to be looked upon as the sun, but only in post-Avestic days.

The home of the Miθra cult was northern (properly speaking north-eastern) Iran, as can be judged from the geographical data. Then it was introduced in eastern Iran, where it adopted the practice of ceremonial washings and of self-castigation by means of blows or stripes (Yt. 10. 122); and where it came in opposition to the Indra cult according to the R̥gveda 10. 22 which contains also other references to the increasing power of Miθra. All this has been more fully dealt with in I I Q F. VI, Beiheft 30 ff. It should be noted that this is not the only case in which Hertel sees the close though inimical relation between the Avesta and the Veda peoples. And it is owing to this fact that a great number of words are used only for the evil beings, whereas they have no such peculiarity in the Veda. (The latest theory on this phenomenon comes from Gray, JRAS. 1927.) To the recognised list some other words are added, e.g. *mairya* 'inimical warrior', Ved. *mārya* 'a young hero', and *d̥yū* 'hell', not 'heaven'. (Yt. 3. 13, where this term occurs, contains a reference to the eastern neighbours in the phrase *paurva-naēmāt̥*.)

The Appendix contains among other things a reply to the author's critics. Hillebrandt brings the word *bráhman*

together with *barəsmān* "the sacred twigs" which he considers as a symbol or charm of increase, then charm as such, and lastly the different sorts of charm, spell, song etc. Hertel replies that first of all *barəsmān* in the Avesta does not imply twigs, but it points to the seat of straw for the offerings just as Ved. *barhis*, the exact Iranian equivalent of which is *barəziš*, the only difference being that the latter is used for profane and not religious purposes. Secondly it is not at all certain that *br̥h* means 'to grow'. Besides the lists of passages and words dealt with in this work, a very useful, detailed index of the subject-matter is given at the end.

In the course of this work the Pahlavi translation is often charged as responsible for the wrong interpretation of the Avesta by modern scholars. But without entering into the battle of methods it can be said that the Pahlavi translation should not be held responsible, if it is misunderstood by those who use it. I have shown elsewhere how it supports Hertel in a number of cases when correctly interpreted, and how in one case West's wrong translation has misled him about what he says on Yima (see Indoger. For. 47.306 f.)

In the end let it be noted again that what I have referred to here is only a small part of what the reader will find in the highly instructive and no less important work. We eagerly wait for the promised studies on the Fravaṣi and on the Yasna ceremony and for the detailed account of the Avesta religion from this new stand-point.

#### 11. On the Avestic metre.

Hertel, J. : Beiträge zur Metrik des Awestas und des Rgvedas (P. IV, 98) 4°. S. Hirzel, Leipzig 1927.

Since the appearance of Geldner's work on the subject *Ueber die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta* (Tübingen 1877) we know that the 8 syllabic verse without any further cesura is



predominant in the Later Avesta, and that the traces of 10 and 12 syllabic verses are to be considered as questionable (pp. 117—119). Further researches were not undertaken, —partly because the metre was not taken into account for settling the text—, till very recently when Lommel tried to establish 10 (and 12) syllabic verses, (and thereby suggested corrections in the handed down text) in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 1. 185-245; 5. 1-92. He says that they occur generally either at the beginning or at the end, but also by way of rhythmical change; and he collects them in the groups formed on the latter basis. Hertel's work brings out some totally new facts about the question. He points out that the fixed number of syllables alone does not form a verse; the characteristic of a verse is the tact, *i.e.* cesura and stress, which are simply ignored till now. The author establishes their existence and the rules about their occurrence in the Later Avesta. It may be mentioned by the way that in the opinion of the author the Later Avesta is not a mixture of prose and poetry as generally believed, but the whole is composed in metre, of course with the exception of some corrupt pieces. In the present study Yt. 10 and some other pieces, also from the V., are taken into account. There are no stanzas as in the Gāṇā, *i.e.* the number of verses can vary in different groups,—(technically called tirades)—which is also the case in old French and early Middle High-German. The predominant or usual verse is 8 syllabic; the 10 syllabic occurs as an initial or final verse, and if in the middle, then it begins or ends a sentence; and the 12 syllabic is used in those places which are especially emphasised. The last verse of a group is sometimes catalectic. The cesura in the 8 syllabic verse which can be naturally divided into two equal parts occurs after the fourth syllable, and only exceptionally after the second syllable. When the 8 syllabic verse can be divided only in unequal parts, then the cesura occurs either after

one third or after the fifth syllable. Similarly in the 10 syllabic verse of equal division, the cesura occurs after the fifth syllable; whereas in that of unequal parts after the fourth or sixth syllable. There are two cesuras in the 12 syllabic verse; the first after the fourth, or after the third or fifth syllable,—according as the verse shows equal or unequal parts; the second as in the 8 syllabic verse. The author adds that the same is the case in the Veda, as against his predecessors, especially Oldenberg and Arnold who did not notice any cesura in the 8 syllabic verse, and dealt wrongly with the 10 and 12 syllabic verses. All this is shown by means of examples and tables. Further the metrics of the Later Avesta is, according to Hertel, the continuation of the Aryan model, whereas that of the Gāṇa is a renovation. He believes that to judge from the cesura and the stress the Gāṇic (and the R̥gvedic) 11 syllabic verse is derived from the catalectic form of the Aryan 12 syllabic verse; similarly the Gāṇic 7 syllabic verse comes from the catalectic form of the 8 syllabic, and the 9 syllabic from the hyper-catalectic. The verse accent in the Later Avesta is iambic, to say so for the sake of convenience. After showing that the rhyme also occurs often therein, the author turns to the results as regards textual criticism arrived at by means of meritical laws. The endings were not written in the original text; and in the Arsacid one they were sometimes not and sometimes wrongly inserted. Prothetic, anaptyctic and *svārbhakti* vowels are not later additions but belong to the text proper, and they sometimes form even syllables. Then he deals with hiatus, *sandhi* (vowel contraction), slur, diastole (vowel doubling) that are to be observed in scanning a verse. After showing some corruptions, glosses, etc., he gives long pieces as examples of verses marked with cesura and accent. The Appendix contains the translation of V. 22 and 3, and H. 2 with notes. Here there are many points worth noting but they must be

left untouched in this account. The details given are enough to show the importance of the work ; and it has already inspired another scholar to find similar verses even in the Old Persian inscriptions. It will be interesting and essential to find out whether the present mode of recitation supports Hertel or not. I think it does as regard cesura and accent in the common passages I know. Some one in Bombay with aptitude for the task may well take up the matter.

## 12. On Iranian languages and dialects.

Reichelt, H.: *Iranisch* (Geschichte der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft t 2. Teil, 4. Band, 2. Hälfte. P. 84, the rest 85-104 contains the account of Armenian studies by H. Zeller) Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin 1927.

The author first gives as Introduction a hurried review of the notable works that form the land-marks in the history of the study of Iranian languages till the appearance of the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*. Then in the first chapter attention is drawn to the new materials, especially to those which deal with the new languages and dialects discovered from the remains of Eastern Turkistan. Thus the phonological differences between Middle Parthian, the northern dialect, and Middle Persian, the southern dialect, are summarised here from the researches of Tedesco in *Le Monde Oriental* XV (where he deals with the grouping of Iranian languages and comes to the conclusion that Avesta belongs to the western group, which is not accepted by all), and of Lentz in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 4. As regards Sogdian the chief work is done by Gauthiot, and now by the author himself, to whom we are indebted also for the account of the Saka language (otherwise known as Khotani and North Aryan). Their characteristics are to be found here and in other chapters.

After some remarks about their relation the author turns to the question of pronunciation and orthography. Then follows a short note on the accent. The succeeding chapters deal with the vowel system, the consonant system, the word formation, the accidence and the syntax. The author has compressed all the prominent facts in few pages and also in few sentences. The latter fact will be found very inconvenient by a beginner. Again there are no means with which the work can be used as a reference book; and this want will be felt by all. Perhaps the author was obliged to follow the general plan of the series. This, however, does not affect the intrinsic value of the work as a real guide about the problems of the comparative study of Iranian languages. In the latter part of the book Zeller deals with Armenian from the following standpoints: the history of its study, its place among Indo-European languages, its grammar (under different sub-heads), loan-words in the language, and its middle and modern form. It may be noted here that the importance of Armenian for Iranian philology lies on the one hand in the great number of Iranian loan-words to be found in it, and on the other in its historical literature.

Mention may be made of the two books that have appeared on the subject more recently and therefore could not be referred to by Reichelt.

Miller, W. : Ossetisch-Russisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch  
Herausgegeben und ergänzt von A. Freiman I (P.  
XIII, 618) Leningrad 1927.

Most of the work on the language in question is done by Miller. It was in the very beginning of his studies that he planned this dictionary, but he died before he could publish it. Then Salemann worked on his manuscript, but he too died, and so the work was entrusted to Freiman. In order to make the work as complete as possible, he

availed himself of the help of the natives that studied under him, and also by visiting their country. Still there are some omissions, to judge from the glossary given by Christensen. The etymology is nowhere given; this should not have been postponed till the second edition, which might not appear at least in the near future. As it is, the work is important, not only for its own sake but also for the closely allied languages. We hope that the remaining parts may soon follow.

Morgenstierne, G.: *An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto* (P. 123) 4. Oslo 1927.

It is after more than thirty years that we have a second book on the subject,—the first one was by Geiger. The present attempt takes us further in the matter; the etymology of many new words is given, and in some cases new suggestions are made. The index of non-Pashto words is given at the end.

Morgenstierne, G.: *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*. Oslo 1926. P. 23. Maps 3.

The book contains a general account of different dialects spoken in Afghanistan; some of them are of Indian family, others of Iranian. It contains many new details.

Reichelt, H.: *Die Soghdischen Handschriftenreste des britischen Museums. In Umschrift und mit Uebersetzung*. Heidelberg, Carl Winter. 1928. P. VII, 72.

It is not possible here to give an account of the linguistic details from this work; so I shall mention only the names of the texts for those interested in Buddhism: The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-Sūtra*, a *Dhuta-Text*, a *Dhyāna-Text*, and some fragments, one of them dealing with the mystic ceremony for producing rain.

In one of the small fragments, the subject of which cannot be ascertained, there occurs the name *zr'ušc*. Reichelt would not connect it with the North-Iranian form of *Zarađuštra*, as is done by Bang in another case, because the Sogdian *č* occurs only in feminine words. Still the epithet '*rt'w*' is not without its significance. *Zarađuštra* is always called *ašaran* in the 'Avesta, *ahrav* or *ašo* in the later writings; and '*rt'w*' is the Sogdian form of *ašaran*, *rt'āvan*. It is rather strange that a number of terms in these few lines reminds one of Zoroastrianism. It is true that *rwyšn'γ rδmnyh* for paradise occurs also elsewhere, but its epithet 'fragrant' is very characteristic. If this fragment does not belong to Buddhism but to Zoroastrianism, as I am inclined to believe, then its discovery must be called unique, since hitherto no reference to the national religion of ancient Persia has been found in the large mass of MSS. brought from Central Asia.

13. On the chronological order in the Later Avesta.
14. On the Kayanians.
15. On the relation of Zurvānism with Zoroastrianism.

Christensen, A.: *Etudes sur le Zoroastrisme de la Perse Antique*. (P. 59.) Copenhagen, 1928.

The author sets up the following chronological table as regards the Later Avesta from what we may call internal-external evidence,—from style and diction, from parallel passages, from geographical data and from references to other known facts.

{ Yt. 10 }	pre-Achaemenian, or the early days of the Achaemenian rule,
{ Yt. 13 }	
Yt. 19 }	

{ Yt. 5 }	
{ Yt. 17 }	
{ Yt. 8 }	A chaemenian, probably 4th century B.C.
{ Yt. 14 }	
{ Y. 9-11 }	
{ Y. 57 }	
{ Yt. 15. }	
{ 6-37 }	
Vendidad }	Arsacid time, probably 1st century A. C.
Yt. 9 }	
Yt. 16	Later days of the Arsacid rule.

I cannot repeat the whole discussion, but some bare facts will not be out of place. Yt. 10 refers only to the north-eastern provinces of Iran, whereas Yt. 19 includes some southern parts like Sistan, but not yet western ones as Yt. 5 does. Yt. 13 is placed before Yt. 19 for another reason. The legendary list in the former begins with Yima—as the Indo-Iranian system requires—and not with Haošya<sup>ra</sup>ha as in Yt. 19 (and other later Yašts). There is another fact that speaks for its antiquity; the ethnic names occurring in it point to primitive times. The *Tūra* and the *Dāha* are Iranian nomads; the *Sairima* are not Sauromates as suggested by Marquart (Erānšahr 155) but are Sarmatians, and the two are different peoples. All this, however, is not absolutely certain. The connection of the *Sāini* with the Chinese by Darmesteter and West is declared to be very uncertain. The second group of texts contains some allusions to the Achaemenian period. Yt. 5 gives the description of Anāhitā; Yt. 17. 7-14 depicts the picture of luxurious and voluptuous life which necessitates a higher state of civilization; and Yt. 10. 14 refers to the bull-banner. The next group contains marks of Parthian rule. The list of

countries in the first chapter of V. represents the extent of the Parthian empire under Mithridates I. Barring some poetical and hence ancient pieces, its prose style is quite in consonance with this late date. Again the laws, especially those about the disposal of the dead, were common in this period, whereas not so in the earlier one. As to Yt. 9 it uses the uncommon name Dravāspā for Gōuš Urvan (and Gōuš Tašan), later Gōš. Christensen refutes the theory of M. A. Stein about ΑΡΟΟΑΧΙΟ of Indo-Scythian coins, and connects it with Drvāspā, *d* being changed to *l* in east-Iranian dialects. This gives us the date when the name Drvāspā was in fashion, and therewith the probable date of the Yašt in her honour. These few details will give some idea of the admirable and ingenious way in which the author deals with the Avesta. The educated people know that the same method is applied to profane literature, say, to the dramas of Shakespeare: and leaving aside the busybodies, at least the class of our people known as scholars will admit its justification. It is another question, if the data appear to be too meagre, for final decision, especially to a sceptic.

While dealing with Yt. 13 the author dwells upon several other points. As regards the formation of names of the persons the repetition of a component part in the names of the members of a family is peculiar, which fashion reappears under the later Sasanians. The view that the legend about the division of the earth among his three sons by Frētōn has its traces in Yt. 13 is refuted. Christensen explains how the legend arose under the Arsacid period.

On the question of the Kayanians the author says that the few notices about the heroic Kavis are to be taken as reminiscences of some old dynasty, and not as astronomical myths. He quite agrees with Hertel that the term *kavi* is used in the Gāthā as a common designation for petty princes; and therein he sees the fact that that old dynasty did not



exist at the time, and that Kavi Vištāspa of the Later Avesta is not an immediate descendant of the other Kavi-s. Hertel's arguments about this last point may well be compared here; and there remains no doubt about the forged character of the later genealogy. On the other hand Christensen denies the identity of Vištāspa of the Gāthā and that of the Old-Persian inscriptions. At least it can be said that there are various facts which speak against Hertel's supposition about the identity which must be given up in any case.

As regards Zurvānism Christensen first gives the representative accounts in chronological order, and then comes to the following conclusion. It was one of the primitive elements of Zoroastrianism; the prophet refers to the eternal good and bad spirits as a twin; in the Achaemenian days the theological and astrological speculation connected them either with Time or with Space. The former view prevailed. In the Parthian time the doctrine was more or less effaced. In the North Dialect or Middle Parthian *zurvān* is used only in the sense of 'old age'. This explains why the extant Avesta has so little on the subject; but the doctrine was in vogue in certain parts of Iran. And it was reintroduced under the Sasanians in books like the Dāmdāt Nask. Immediately before or more probably after the downfall of the Sasanians there arose a new orthodox party which denounced Zurvānism as a heresy. This is one of the causes to which is due the missing of a large part of the Sasanian Avesta. (This is, to my mind, a wrong view; because almost all the Nasks existed till the end of the 10th century and most of them had nothing to do with Zurvānism as can be seen from their summary.) The Zurvānism was given up because its myths were very grotesque owing to which it was ridiculed by the Christians and would have been more so by the victorious Moslems. Again Zurvān is connected with Destiny and the fatalism preached by it

would have been more dangerous for a religion fighting for its life. So many new points are to be found in this excellent, short monograph. The reader is not burdened with unnecessary, long talks, but is guided in a straight and clear manner.

16. On the Rubā'iyāt of 'Umar-i-Khayyām.

Christensen, A.: Critical Studies in the Rubā'iyāt of 'Umar-i-Khayyām. A revised Text with English Translation. Copenhagen 1927. P. 180.

In this work an attempt is made to settle the genuine verses of the poet, and thereby his genius and character. As the work is in English I need not go into details. It is enough to note that the author divides the manuscripts and editions into those without any order, those with the order of subject-matter, those with single alphabetical order and those with double alphabetical order. Their merit he estimates in the same descending order. Then he counts which quatrains occur in a certain number of manuscripts, etc. of each group. The text of 121 quatrains thus selected are given with variants and literal translation. This can be easily called the best contribution on the subject.

17. On Sasanian Numismatics.

Vasmer, R.: Sasanian Coins in the Ermitage. Reprinted from the "Numismatic Chronicle", Fifth Series, Vol. VIII. 1928. P. 86 and Plates 2.

The author fully describes the most noteworthy coins of the first period from Ardashir I to Shapur II, and thereby points out unique features, and refers to parallel or differing coins. The work is in English and so I need not give them nor the new points gained for history etc. (They will be found in Bulletin Iran League, April 1929.)

## 18. On Iranian History and Geography.

Barthold, W. : Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion. Second Edition translated from the original Russian and revised by the author with the assistance of H. A. R. Gibb, M.A. (= "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" New Series V.) P. XIX, 513. London, Luzac & Co. 1928.

Although the title of the work refers to Turkestan only, the reader will find a mass of historical and geographical materials about a part of Iran. The Introduction deals with the sources; really speaking it forms an essay on the Perso-Arabic historical and geographical works. The chapters are: Geographical Survey of Transoxania, Central Asia down to the Twelfth Century, Qarā-Khitāys and Khwārazm-Shāhs, and Chingiz-Khan and the Mongols. There are also given: Chronological Summary of Events, Bibliography, General Index, and Reference Table of Medieval and Modern Place-Names with a Map. New light is thrown on many a difficult problem in this work.

## 19. On Iranian Archaeology.

Herzfeld, Ernst : Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran Band I Heft I. P. 40 and 23. Plates 3 and 30. Maps 2. Berlin : Dietrich Reimer 1929.

Herzfeld intends to publish periodically the results of his research work on the subject. In the first number of this series are included a short account of the excavations at Pasargadae carried on in 1928, and a report on the condition of the ruins of Persepolis with suggestions for their preservation. The latter work was done in 1923-24 and has been given here in French and Persian as desired by the Persian Government. The monuments at Pasargadae will be given in the first volume of the parallel series, *Iranische Denkmäler*. Those of Persepolis are included here according to the original plan. The figures are beautifully executed, and the author promises to make them appear still

better in the following numbers.

The ruins of Mashhad i Murghab were generally identified as the remains of Pasargadae. Objections to this supposition were refuted by the author in *Klio* of 1907, but as some were not fully convinced, he undertook the present excavation. First he describes the topographical situation; it is similar to that of Ecbatana. The weather is much colder than that of Persepolis, and hence more suitable for the conquering immigrants coming from the cold parts about the Aral Sea. The immigration of the Persians as opposed to the Medians took place after the destruction of Elam in 640 B.C. The date of the foundation of Pasargadae is, as shown below, 559-550 B.C. During this interval of 80 years the Persians can be said to have slowly colonised Anzhan, later on called Parsa after them. Only one monument of this period is known,—a tomb on the way between Persepolis and Susa, which in its character and form holds an intermediary place between the Median tombs and those at Naksh i Rostam and Persopolis. It may belong to one of the three ancestors of Cyrus the Great. Then the author dwells on the type of the colony. It is absolutely primitive, it being not a compact city, but groups of buildings scattered far and wide on the plain. There are, however, very meagre rests of a city without any city-wall. Another group of ruins shows the existence of a temple and at least three great buildings; and still another a group of palaces. All this together with the well-known Tomb of Cyrus forms Pasargadae, the city of Cyrus. The author notes here a custom,—surely a very old, pre-Moslem one,—with reference to the tomb: when the herds in their great journey pass by it, they are made to go round it thrice, and with their milk and curds are washed the stones of the socle. The ruins of the temple show that it might have been a great, raised platform in the form of a number (it is six here) of terraces for performing worship thereon, comparable with what Herodotus relates. But Herzfeld

argues that for such a purpose one of the many natural hills lying hard by would have been used, as has been done in the Sasanian days. Further the comparison with the Babylonian temple ruins leads one to suppose that there was a cella on the highest terrace. In that case the temple was similar to the Tomb of Cyrus, which fact in its turn is a further proof for the author's supposition. There is no wonder that the remains of the cella are not found, for it, like the three upper terraces, must have been built of clay bricks with a wooden roof. As to the palaces the author believes that they were connected with one another by means of a park. There is that grand gate with the four-winged genius in Elamic dress wrongly taken to be Cyrus, because of the inscription there: "I, Cyrus, the King, the Achaemenide", which rightly belongs to the whole building and not to the figure alone. This inscription, which was known to exist till 1840, could not be discovered in spite of great search. The main doors had colossal, winged bulls—the inner pair with human heads. The audience hall differs in its technic from that of Persepolis. The sculptures also are different. They are: three barefooted men, in long and tight clothing reaching up to the ankles, leading a cow; and two genii with naked legs and one of them with bird's claws. In all cases only the lower part is extant. As the genii show some Assyrian features they may be a winged man and a man with bird's head and claws. In the other figure priests may be leading the cow for sacrifice. All this is new; it does not occur at Persepolis. The figures of the animals including the horse, which is again a new fact, are simpler and therefore more beautiful and more effective than those at the latter place. The residential palace is also of a new type. Here the king appears with a servant, both in the same dress as at Persepolis. This is not without its importance, because it does away with the theory of the change of dress concluded from the above mentioned figure of the

genius wrongly identified with Cyrus. There is some difference in the style, and also in the art of showing the eye-lashes and the borders of the garments, which art is more primitive and at the same time a direct forerunner of that at Persepolis. There are two inscriptions; the longer one is preserved only in parts and is not thoroughly examined, but it seems to contain blessings on his palace and his portrait. The shorter one runs: "Cyrus, the Great King, the Achaemenide". This is of the highest importance, for it sets at rest all doubts whatsoever about the historical problem of Pasargadae. In the hitherto known inscription the wording was: "The King" and not "the Great King", and hence it could not be definitely connected with the founder of the great empire. But the new inscription with "the Great King" solves that difficulty. It proves the identity of the ruins with Pasargadae, the city of Cyrus the Great. At the same time this inscription decides the date of its foundation. In it there are neither the Babylonian titles as found in his Cylinder-Inscription nor the Median ones, therefore the city was founded before the victory over the Medians, i.e., during 559-550 B.C. The foundation of the capital was a challenge to the sovereign power, just as was the case after 800 years with the foundation of Ardashir-Khurrah.

The importance of the whole work lies in three directions. (1) The inscriptions with their relation to political history and to the history of the cuneiform writing. (2) The unique discovery of a temple. (3) The proof that the architecture and the sculpture of Pasargadae represent a more primitive art than those at Persepolis. This combined with what little we know of Median art shows that the Old Iranian art lives and grows just as all genuine arts, and that the theory, which declares the works of art under Darius as due merely to the will and power of a world emperor, and executed through the hands of his subject races, especially the Greeks and the Egyptians, must be given up for ever as totally wrong.

A LAUDATORY POEM, ADDRESSED TO  
PRINCE KHURRAM (AFTERWARDS  
SHĀH JAHĀN), BY DASTUR KAIKOBAD  
MĀHYĀR, OF NAOSARI, (ABOUT 1617).

BY SHAMS-UL-ULAMA DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH.D., C.I.E.

I

INTRODUCTION.

I propose giving in this paper, the text, translation and notes of a Persian laudatory poem, addressed in the year 1617 A.C., *i.e.* more than 300 years ago, by Dastur Kaikobad Māhyār<sup>1</sup> (Meherji Rana) of Naosari, to Prince Khurram (afterwards Emperor Shah Jahān), at the time when he (Khurram) invaded Dakhan at the direction of his father Jahangir. It is a poem of 90 couplets. It cannot be said to possess any literary merit, but it seems to be a better composition than that of the petition in verse, addressed by Kaikobad to Emperor Jahangir, about a year later. The reason for this superiority seems to be, that this laudatory poem<sup>2</sup> was written leisurely, under no special hurry, but the petition was written rather hastily. It is attempted to be written in the *bahr* (جر) or meter of the *Shāh-nāmah* of Firdousi. Some of the couplets are faulty in point of meter, but that may be due to the fault of the copyists. In poems or writings of

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1 *Vide* for this personage my paper entitled "Petition in Persian verse, made in 1619, by Dastur Kaikobad of Naosari to Emperor Jahangir" (Jour. K.R. Cama Oriental, Institute No. 13, pp. 67-237).

2 I have alluded to this poem in my paper entitled "Notes of Anquetil Du Perron (1755-61) on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji

this kind, intended to be presented to the king or other great personages, one cannot expect the original to be found elsewhere because they must go to the king or the parties for whom they are intended. The copies that come down to later ages are copies of the copy of the original writer. Hence it is that the copyists, one after another, may possibly make it faulty.

The copy from which I give the text and my translation is a well-written copy belonging to the library of the late Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unvala. I will first give the text and the translation and will then explain the historical and other allusions made in it.

## II

### THE TEXT OF THE POEM.

بنام <sup>1</sup> خداوند جان آفرین	ازو باد بر تو هزار آفرین
توسلطان شاه جهان ياك راي	زبان را بذكر خدا بر كشاي
تو اول بنام خدا ياك گير	بهرجا شود او ترا دستگير
تو شاه جهان خرم نيك نام	كه بر تخت باشد مقام مدام
5 شهنشاه شاه جهان خرم است	ابا رامش و خرمی درخور است
كه تاج و كلاه است سزاوار تو	تو شاه جهان باش اي نيك خو
شهنشاه شاه جهان نيكيخت	خداوند تاج و خداوند تخت
كه زيب ز توتاج و تخت و كلاه	تو هستی شه ياك زيباي گاه
براورنكو تو باشي فرخنده يي	كه نامت بماند چو شاهان كي
10 ز مغرب كه تا مشرق پادشاه	بدرگاه تو سر نهند با كلاه
ترا كرد ايزد سر سروان	بفرمان تو كرد نام آوران
برو با سپاهي گران بر دكهن	كه ييخش بشمير از بن بكن
خجسته بتو ياد ملك دكهن	عدوان تو بادا همه دل شكن

1 The first line is well nigh the same as the first line of the Shâh-nâmeh on the meter of which this is written. The first line of the Shâh-nâmeh is بنام خداوند جان و خرد



- 15 برو با سپاهي گران نامدار جهانگیر امر کرد بتو بر دکن  
اگر نامخواهي دکن در شکن بکن جمله با مردم جنگيات  
برو زود بشتاب بر دکنيان بکن مردمی بیش جنگی سوار  
همه کار ورزان همه نامدار چو بر دکنيان از تو آید گزیند  
که نام تو ماند بچرخ بلند بکوب سرشرا بگرز گران  
چو رستم که با دیو مازندران که یزدان رساند همه کام تو  
20 چو دستان رستم به بندي میان ز تیغ گریزد همه دکنيان  
که از دست تو تیغ بازي شود جهانگیر شاه از تو را ضی شود  
نیاين شوي همچو بر چرخ و<sup>1</sup> ماه در آنجا چو فرخ فریدون شاه  
25 که از ملک شان تو بر آري دمار نباشد چو تو در جهان نامدار  
دکنيان فریبند و بدکنش بنوک سناش بکن سر زنش  
بجا پای دارند همه دکنيات چو تو تیغ بندي کمر بر میان  
30 ابا نامداران مردان خیز بملک دکن تو نما رستخیز  
ترا یار باشد خداوند پاک ز دشمن نباشد ترا هیچ پاک  
نگهدار دادار دارنده دهر ازو باد بر تو بسی ظفر و مهر  
35 نمائي که در جنگ زور آوري همه ملک دکن بزیر آوري  
اگر تو در جنگ باشي دلیر چو روباه بگریزد از ز شیر  
چکچک شمشیر خنجر کشان که از تن جدا کن سر سرکشان  
دلیری چنان کن چو سهراب شیر از دست او گشت رستم بزیر  
باوردگه زن تو تیر خدنگ که چون رستم نیو و بوریشنگ  
35 بکوبال و شمشیر و سردانگی بدست آر دکن ز فرزانیگی  
تو با نامداران بشمیر کین دکن را بده گوشمال توهین  
چنان کن که گر نام تو بشنود که از موم تر نرم خارا شود  
سیتندرا<sup>2</sup> نمیس<sup>3</sup> بکن توده حال دیگر توده آجدانگر نیکو فال

1 This is superfluous.

2 These two words are not clear. The second word seems to be the name of a city like Ahmadnagar, the name of which we read in the second line.

- 40 که هردو توده ست ییوگان تو میانش تو می باز جوگان و گو  
 ییوگان شمشیر ظفر قرین یکن کو سر دشمنت بد لعین  
 یبازی عیدان مردانکین سر دشمنانت بزن بر زمین  
 هم آورد<sup>1</sup> تو نی بیدان جنگ اگر چند باشد چو پور پشنگ  
 نباشد به ییشت کسی بائدار چو بر توسن تیز گشتی سوار  
 بگرزو و بشمشیر و تیر و کمان یارای لشکر چو شیري ژیان  
 45 تو لشکر گزین کن چنان نامدار که در جنگی باشد چو خنجر گذار  
 بکن میمه تو یلی شیر گیر که شیر ژیانرا بزند مقبر  
 دیگر میسر را پست<sup>2</sup> جنگاوران که در جنگ باشد چو نامآوران  
 بسم ستوران زمین شان بکنند سرشات یاور بجم کمند  
 بده تو زری از خزانه بزرگ بیقشان بانکس که مردي سترگ  
 50 چنان ساز لشکر چو گودرذ گویو چو برزوی رستم<sup>3</sup> فراسرز نیو  
 که سالار<sup>4</sup> لشکر چنان کن کسی که در جنگ نامش که باشد بسی  
 خجسته بتو گاوایانی درفش ابا گرز و شمشیر زرین سرش  
 ترا باد فرخ کیانی کلاه که چون<sup>5</sup> بود بفرخ فریدون شاه  
 بقلب اندرون جای خود را ساز بتخت کیانی نشسته بناز  
 55 بتلید لشکر بهرجا که هست بیایند بدرگت چون ییلان مست  
 ابا گرز و شمشیر زوین زره به بیریات به ایر کره  
 منادی نمایند ققیان شاه بیایند بدرگت بزودی سپاه  
 عدوانت چو ببینند لشکر بسی نه ایستند ییشت در آنجا کسی  
 سرانی سپه را بکن پیشرو که با تیغ و کویال مانند کو  
 60 سرانی سپه چو بود پیل مست سپه صد هزاران کند زیر پست  
 جوانان چالاک کند اوران طارید نمایان کمند افکنان  
 سیاهی چو باید باسی سوار عدو را بگیرد چو شیر شکار  
 که ییلان جنگی بود پیش صف بسی ییل گردان زوین بکف

1 Miswritten for آور.

2 for ییشت.

3 Written رستم. In some old writings they used to put three nukhtahs below رستم.

4 Written مآلار vide n. 2.

5 Written چون.

- 65 سواران شمشیر و مردان کین  
عنارای بهر رای سپارند تیز  
چنان میزند تیغ ناماوران  
مسخر شود دکهن از دست تو  
که شاهان سابق در آنجا که هست  
یدر گهت میارند همه بازو ساو  
70 همه راجها از اطراف آن  
هرآنکه گرفتی تو ملک دکهن  
که از داد و انصاف بود نام تو  
بگستر چنان داد تو پاکیزه کیش  
که بر تخت روشن چو خورشید باد  
75 بکن ناز بر تخت شاه جهان  
همیشه ترا رود رامش بهار  
همه سالهای تو فرخنده باد  
دعا و ثنا کو بتو کعبه باد  
خانه زاد شاه قدیمی غلام  
80 که در سایه لطف خود آن یاد شاه  
دوسه خدمتی کرد عنایت بمن  
مدد معاش سیصد یکه کرد<sup>۱</sup> داد  
بهشت برین باد ماوای او  
دیگراز جهانگیر سري خسروان  
85 تو شاه جهان یکی مواضع بمن  
به بخش تو مواضع شایک و تیز  
اگر شاه ببخشد مواضع بمن  
ازان عرضی نمایم بشاه جهان  
فرمان سعادت ز درگاه تو  
90 ترا جاویدان باد ایزدان پناه  
بکام تو گرداد خورشید و ماه

تمت

1 This word is superfluous, both for meter and meaning.

## III

## TRANSLATION.

1. By the name of God, the Creator of the soul,  
May a thousand blessings be upon you  
from Him.
2. You Sultan,<sup>1</sup> (you) pure-minded king of the  
world! Offer your tongue in the praise of God.
3. In the beginning, you take the name of holy God.  
He will be your helper in every place.
4. You are the king<sup>2</sup> (shâh) of the world, cheerful  
(khurram) and famous. May your place be  
always on the throne.
5. The emperor, the king of the world, is cheerful  
(khurram). He is worthy of joy and cheer-  
fulness.
6. The crown and the royal cap are worthy of you.  
Oh good-natured man! May you be the king of  
the world.
7. (You are) emperor, a fortunate king of the world  
and a possessor of the crown and possessor  
of the throne.
8. The crown, the throne and the royal cap befit you.  
You are a holy king worthy of the throne.
9. May your auspicious feet be on your throne. May  
your name be (glorious) like the Kayanian  
kings.

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1 According to Jahangir's Memoirs (Rogers and Beveridge's Memoirs I, p. 338), Jahangir conferred upon Khurram, at the time of his departure for Dakhan, the title of "Shâh" and ordered, that "he should be styled Shâh Sultân Khurram."

2 It is a pun upon the words khurram and shah which form his proper name and title.

10. Kings from west to east, place their crowned heads in (submission before) your Court.
11. God has made you a leader of leaders and has placed illustrious persons under your orders.
12. Go with a large army to Dakhan and extirpate its seed<sup>1</sup> from the root with your sword.
13. May the country of Dakhan be auspicious to you. May your enmity<sup>2</sup> break all their heart.
14. Go with a large and famous army. May all your wishes be fulfilled in that place.
15. Jahangir has ordered you (to go) to Dakhan. If you wish to acquire fame, conquer (lit. break) (the country of) Dakhan.
16. Go quick, hasten towards the Dakhanis (and) attack<sup>3</sup> them with your fighting men.
17. Show bravery before warlike troops, before all fighting men and illustrious men.
18. When troubles will befall the Dakhanis from you, your name will be raised to the highest heaven.
19. Knock their heads with your heavy club, as did Rustam in the case of the demons of Mâzindarân.
20. May God fulfill all your desires. May your name be (glorious) in the country of Dakhan.
21. Tie your waist like the Dastân<sup>3</sup> of Rustam. All the Dakhanis will run away through your sword.

---

1 i.e., the seed of the country invaded. What is meant is: "Destroy the enemy altogether."

2 عدوان enmity or enemies. The line may mean: "May your enemies be heart-broken." But, then, the last word, *del-shekan*, is not quite proper; it must to be taken in the sense of *del-shekasteh*.

3 Zal, the father of Rustam, is also called "Zal-i Zar, Dastân-i Zand, Dastân-i Sâm or simply Dastân" (Warner Brothers' *Shâh-nâmeh*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 84).

22. In your hands, the sword will be like a plaything and king Jahangir will be pleased with you.
23. Be as apparent<sup>1</sup> (*i.e.* be boldly forward) as the moon in the sky. Be there (as glorious) as the glorious king Faridun.
24. If you will destroy (lit. take out the breath of) their country, there would not be anybody in the world as famous as yourself.
25. The Dakhanis (are) treacherous and mischievous. Rebuke (*i.e.* punish) them with the point of your spear.
26. Where will all the Dakhanis stand, when you will put on your sword over your waist?
27. With your famous active<sup>2</sup> troops, you show the Day of Resurrection to (*i.e.* bring the end of) the country of Dakhan.
28. May holy God assist you. May you have no fear of the enemy.
29. May God, the ruler of destiny,<sup>3</sup> protect you. May there be much of victory and favour over you from Him.
30. Show, that you can bring strength (to your aid) in fight. Bring the whole country of Dakhan under your submission.
31. If you will be brave in fight, (the enemy) will run away like a fox (which runs away) from the brave lion.

---

1 نمایان appearing, apparent, bold.

2 خیز impatient, bounding, leaping.

3 دهر fortune, destiny, adverse fortune; God, as ruler of destiny.

32. Let there be the clashing of swords of dagger-bearers. Sever the heads of the haughty from their bodies.
33. Show bravery like the brave Sohrab by whose hand Rustam was brought down (to the ground).<sup>1</sup>
34. Aim an arrow (khang)<sup>2</sup> in the battle-field, as the brave Rustam and the son of Pashang (*i.e.* Afrâsiâb) used to do.<sup>3</sup>
35. With a mace, a sword, and (your) bravery, bring Dakhan under your submission through wisdom.
36. With brave men and with your revengeful sword, punish Dakhan; make haste.<sup>4</sup>
37. Act in such a way that when they hear your name, they may become soft (*i.e.* yield) in the same way as that in which a hard stone becomes soft like moist wax.
38. Make the aim of your arrows for the present,<sup>5</sup> ....  
O fortunate man! Let Ahmednagar be the next (place for the) aim of your arrows.
39. Both these places are the butt of your bat (chow-gân). Play, in their midst, your play of bat and

1 *Vide* Mohl, small edition, Tome II, p. 126. Warner Brothers' Shâh-nameh, Vol. II, pp. 169-70.

2 خداک the white poplar, a tree from which they make arrows; an arrow made of it.

3 Afrâsiâb and Rustam had several fights (Warner Brothers' Shâh-nameh, Vol. III, pp. 263, 348).

4 هين "Have a care! make haste!" or, for اين "this, thus" (Steingass.).

5 تود the butt or mark at which arrows are shot.

6 The names of the places are not clear.

ball (chowgân-o-gu) (*i.e.* strike blows on these cities and punish them).

40. May victory be associated with the bat of your sword. Make the head of your wretched accursed enemy your ball.
41. Play in the plain (maidân) of fighting men and throw on the ground, the heads of your enemies.
42. Carry a cane in the battle-field, although there may be many (warriors) like the son of Pashang (*i.e.* like Afrâsiâb).
43. When you will ride a swift high-blooded<sup>1</sup> horse nobody can stand before you.
44. With mace and sword and arrows and bow, prepare an army (as brave) as a ferocious lion.
45. You select such illustrious troops as would act in the battle like bearers of daggers.
46. Place on the right wing of your army a hero who capture lions and who can strike a ferocious lion with an arrow.
47. Place on the left<sup>2</sup> wing (of your army) a person that would be a pillar of strength (lit. support) to warriors, (and) who may act in the battle like glorious men.
48. Dig up their land with the hoofs of your beasts of burden. Bring their heads under the groove of your noose.
49. Give money from your big treasury and throw it towards that man who is an able-bodied man.
50. Prepare an army of persons like Godarz and Giv, like Barzu, Rustam and brave Framurz.

---

1 توسن a high-blooded steed ; a young unbroken horse.

2 Maisara left wing.



51. Let the commander of your army be a person whose name may carry a good weight in the war.
52. May the Kavehâni banner together with the mace and gold-headed sword be auspicious to you.
53. May the Kaeyâni hat be auspicious to you as it was to the fortunate king Faridun.
54. Sitting splendidly on the Kaeyânian throne, take your place in the centre of the army.
55. Call your troops wherever they be. They will come to your Court like brave elephants,
56. with mace and sword, javelin, coat of mail, with military cloaks<sup>1</sup> and buttoned<sup>2</sup> garments.<sup>3</sup>
57. Let the heralds<sup>4</sup> issue a proclamation and the troops will assemble quickly at your Court.
58. When your enemies will see your large army, nobody will stand there before you.
59. Let the commanders of troops march in the front. May they stand like heroes with sword and mace.
60. When the commanders of troops are brave like elephants, they overpower hundreds of thousands of soldiers.
61. (When) intelligent brave young men, who show the way for assaults<sup>5</sup> and who are expert in throwing nooses, (and)

1 بربان a kind of military cloak made of leopard's skin.

2 گره a button or anything for fastening garments.

3 برام the outside of a garment.

4 نقیب a servant, whose business is to proclaim the titles of his master and to introduce before him those who desire to pay respects to him.

5 طربد assault.

62. Soldiers ride on their horses with soldiers, they capture their enemies, just as a lion would capture its prey.
63. May elephants be in the front of your army. May you command (lit. move) many elephants with javelins in your hand.
64. Troops armed with swords and men bent upon revenge throw hundreds of thousands of soldiers on ground.
65. In every way, they quickly entrust themselves to the reins of their horses and bring about a resurrection in the battle-field<sup>1</sup> (*i.e.* trusting to their horses they fight and cause havoc among the enemy).
66. Famous warriors strike their swords as the blacksmiths strike their belts<sup>2</sup> on the anvil.
67. May Dakhan be subdued (*maskhar*) by your hands. May you be there a good-natured king of the world.
68. O fortunate (prince)! May the former kings who are there do homage to your Court.
69. May they bring toll and tribute to your Court. Nobody has any strength to fight with you.
70. May all the Rajas round about it (*i.e.* the Dakhan) tie their waists (*i.e.* be ready) to serve you.
71. At the time when you conquer the country of Dakhan, you spread in that country justice and peace.
72. Your fame will be established by equity and justice and all your desires will be fulfilled in that country.

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1 آوردگه a field of battle.      2 بک the silken fringe of a belt.

73. O you pious-natured man! spread justice in such a way that the sheep may drink water at the same place with a wolf.
74. May you be resplendent on your throne like the Sun. May your seat be like that of Jamsheed.
75. O king of the world! sit as merrily on your throne as did Jamsheed, the king of the world.
76. May you always have joy and cheerfulness of spring. May you be happy with whatever you drink.
77. May all your years be happy. May all your days be brilliant.
78. (I) Kaikobad am the speaker of good wishes and praise to you. May you always be happy on your throne.
79. I am an old servant of your royal house and was brought up by the illustrious king Akbar.
80. That king exalted me in this Court under the shelter of his own kindness.
81. He favoured me with two or three services. Pious Akbar exalted me.
82. He gave me 300 *bigahs* as *madad-i-ma'ash*. Oh God! May he be happy in Heaven.
83. May the highest heaven be his abode. O God! have mercy on his pious soul.
84. Again, I have a *farman* from Jahangir who is the leader of kings and who has an intelligent soul.
85. O you pious king of the world! you order some land<sup>1</sup> to be kindly presented to me.
86. O pious and virtuous king! you present me some land so that your name may be perpetuated till the day of resurrection.

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1 Or villages.

87. If the king will present me with land, I, his servant, will be exalted in the Anjuman.
88. I pray for that (favour), to the king of the world!  
O kind-natured king of the world! you are bountiful.
89. O pious-natured king! fulfil my desire with an auspicious *farman* from your Court.
90. May the protection of God be on you for ever. May the sun and moon revolve according to your pleasure.

(Finished.)

#### IV

#### SUMMARY OF THE POEM.

1. The Petition begins with the mention of the name of God. The first line of the first couplet is well-nigh the same as that with which Firdousi begins his *Shâh-nâmeh*, Firdousi's first line runs thus :—

بنام خداوند جان و خرد

Kaikobad's first line runs thus :

بنام خداوند جان آفرین

Having named God, he prays for God's blessings upon Prince Khurram and asks the Prince to praise God (cc. 1-3). He then blesses and praises the Prince (cc. 4-11). He then speaks of the invasion of Khurram upon the Dakhan (دکهن) and says that Khurram went to war at the command of Jahangir. He asks Khurram to strike the Dakhanis as Rustam, the national hero of ancient Iran, struck the Mazindaranis. He asks him to win glory like Faridun (c. 23). He calls the Dakhanis treacherous and mischievous (*faribandeh va bad kunesh*, c. 25). He speaks of Khurram's officers as illustrious and active and says that, if bravery

will be shown by Khurram, the enemy will run away like a fox before a lion (c. 31). He refers to the episode of Rustam and Sohrab in the *Shâh-nâmeh* and wishes that the Dakhanis may be brought down to the ground at Khurram's hand, just as Rustam was brought down to the ground at the hand of Sohrab (c. 33). He refers to the episode of the fight with arrow between Rustam and Afrâsiâb, the son of Pashang. He names Ahmednagar as the next place of the Dakhan to which the Prince should direct his attention. He asks him to prepare an army consisting of men like Godurz and Giv, Barzu, Rustam and Framurz. He then wishes that the Kavehâni banner may be auspicious to him and the Kayâni hat be as auspicious to him as it was to Fari-dun (c. 54). He further wishes that all the Rajas may submit to him (c. 70). He exhorts the Prince to spread justice after conquest (c. 73). He prays that he may be as resplendent as the sun and as illustrious as Jamshed (c. 74). Then, at the end (c. 79), he says that he himself was the *Khânê-zâd* of the house of Akbar who had given him two or three *khidmats* and 300 *bigâhs* of land (cc. 79-82). He then speaks of having a *farmân* from Jahangir (c. 84) and prays for the gift of some land from him (Khurram). The presentation of that land will exalt him among the Anjuman (c. 84) and so he asks for a *farmân* for that purpose.

## V

### THE MAIN HISTORICAL EVENT REFERRED TO IN THE POEM.

It was Khurram's proposed invasion of the Dakhan that led Kaikobad to write the laudatory poem. It was a great military expedition of the times, because the Dakhan had been long defying the attempts of Akbar and Jahangir to bring it under submission. This fact shows the importance

of the event which led Kaikobad to address the poem to Khurram. So, I will speak here of the subject treated in this poem under the following heads :—

1. An account of the early life of Khurram which led to his being called Shâh as referred to by Kaikobad and which prepared him for the important task of invading the Dakhan.
2. The country of Dakhan, the conquest of which was deemed important by Akbar and Jahangir.
3. Ahmednagar as an important place for conquest.

I will speak here briefly on Khurram's life upto the time of his invasion of Dakhan, to enable one to see how gradually he was prepared to be fit to carry out a great military expedition against Dakhan which was undertaken by his grand-father Akbar but was left unfinished and which suggested to Kaikobad, the idea of writing this laudatory poem. Khurram was the original name of Jahangir's second son. He was born on 5th January 1592,<sup>1</sup> to Jagat Gosâ'in otherwise known as Jodh Bai, who was the daughter of the Motâ *râjâ* (the fat *râjâ*). As a boy, he was known as Bâbâ. Akbar, who was then alive, gave his grand-child the name of Khurram, *i.e.* joyful, because it was believed that, by his birth, he made the world *khurram*, or joyful. In his childhood, he was brought up by Ruqayya Sultan Begum, his step grand-mother, the Begum being one of the several wives of Akbar.

In March 1607, he was given the honour of having a flag<sup>2</sup> and drum and the rank of 8000 personal (zât) and 5000 horse (troops).<sup>3</sup>

In 1607, Jahangir got Khurram, who did not enjoy good

1 Memoirs of Jahangir by Rogers and Beveridge I, p. 19, and n. 5.

2 Turkish *şâh* togh, a horse-tail standard, 3 Memoirs I, p. 87.

health, weighed in gold, silver and other metals and gave the gold, silver etc. to faqirs and the poor.<sup>1</sup> In the same year, having heard from his Diwan, the news of a conspiracy by his elder brother Khusrav against the life of his father, Khurram conveyed the news to his father and gained his esteem and love.<sup>2</sup> In the same year, he was given the rank of 8000 personal and 5000 horse and a jagir near Ujjain.<sup>3</sup> In 1609, he was presented with a rubby, set in with two pearls, of the value of Rs. 40000.<sup>4</sup>

In the same year, he was betrothed to a girl, who was the grand-daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza Safawi, ruler of Kandahar, when Jahangir sent for the bride a rich gift (ساجک) of Rs. 50000.<sup>5</sup> The marriage took place in the same year and Jahangir celebrated it with gifts to the rich and the poor.<sup>6</sup> On the New Year's day of the next year (21st March 1611), Jahangir raised his rank to 10000 personal and 5000 horse.<sup>7</sup> In March 1612 (19th Farwardin), the rank was further raised from 10000 to 12000. On 18th Khordad (1612 A.C.)<sup>8</sup> Khurram was married to Arjumand Banu, well-known as Mumtaz-mahal, who, later on, became his favourite wife, and gave him 14 children,<sup>9</sup> and in whose memory, on her death, he built the world-known Taj Mahal, "the toy in marble," of India. She was the daughter of Asaf Khan IV, the brother of Jahangir's queen Nur-Jahan. It was Nur-Jahan who had brought about the marriage and Mumtaz-

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1 This rule of being weighed in metals and of giving the metals or the coins made out of them to the poor was an old custom of Indian kings. Akbar followed it and got himself weighed twice every year, once according to the solar year and for the second time according to the lunar year. *Memoirs I*, (p. 115.)

2 *Ibid.* pp. 122-23.

3 *Ibid.* p. 132.

4 *Ibid.* p. 156.

5 *Ibid.* p. 159.

6 *Ibid.* p. 180.

7 *Ibid.* p. 192.

8 *Ibid.* p. 217.

9 *Ibid.* p. 224.

mahal was to Khurram (Shah Jahan) what Nur-Jahan was to Jahangir. On the New Year's day, 1st Farwardin (1613 A.C.), he invited his father to his own house and submitted New Year's offerings.<sup>1</sup> The Holi festival of the Hindus fell, in 1614, on the anniversary of the death of Akbar.

Jahangir celebrated both, the Holi holiday and the anniversary of his father (Akbar's) death. He sent Khurram to Akbar's tomb to arrange for an assembly there. Jahangir says: "The commemoration of such an anniversary is one of the standing rules and customs in Hindustan. Every year of the death of their fathers and those who are dear to them, each according to his circumstances and ability prepares food and all kinds of perfumes, and the learned men, the respectable and other men assemble and these assemblies sometimes last a week."<sup>2</sup> Jahangir "sent Bâbâ Khurram to the venerated tomb" and "1000 rupees were given to ten trustworthy servants to divide among fakirs and those who were in want."<sup>3</sup>

On the 6th of Deh (1613 A.C.), he sent Khurram from Ajmer, to subdue the Rana of Udeypore, giving him very rich presents. Khurram went and succeeded. The Rana Amar Singh surrendered in the month of Bahman (January 1615 A.C.). On his return to Court with Karan, the son of Rana, both were received with honour and presents, on the 25th of Deh (1615 A.C.).

Jahangir initiated Khurram, who had, upto now, abstained from drinking, to the habit of drinking. On this day, the ceremony of weighing Khurram was performed and, on that auspicious day, Jahangir said to Khur-

1 *Ibid.* p. 236.

2 *Ibid.* p. 246-47.

3 *Ibid.* p. 247.



ram : "Bābā, thou hast become the father of children and kings and king's sons have drunk wine. To-day, which is the day of thy being weighed, I will give thee wine to drink, and give thee leave to drink it on feast days and at the time of the New Year, and at all great festivals. But thou must observe the path of moderation, for wise men do not consider it right to drink to such extent as to destroy the understanding, and it is necessary that from drinking only profit should be derived."<sup>1</sup> Jahangir then quotes Bu 'Alī (Avicenna),<sup>2</sup> the Arab physician, on the advantage of drinking wine in moderation and disadvantage in drinking it to excess, and enters into a kind of dissertation on wine. On the 19th of Farwardin (April 1616), Khurram's rank was raised from 15000 personal and 8000 horse to 20000 personal and 10000 horse. In the same year, Jahangir sent Khurram for the conquest of the Dakhan. It was at this time that Khurram was given the title of Shāh (king) (A.C. 1616). From that time, some authors called him Shāh Khurram, and some Shāh Jahan.<sup>3</sup> The conferring of the title of Shāh upon him by Jahangir was equivalent to declaring him heir-apparent. Khurram completely subdued Dakhan. In A.D. 1621 (1030 Hijri) Dakhan again rose in rebellion and Khurram was again sent to suppress it, and was successful in subduing it.

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1 *Ibid.* p. 806. For a similar old Zoroastrian view of one deriving benefit from the use of wine, *vide* my paper on "Wine among the Ancient Persians"<sup>2</sup> (*Asiatic Papers*, Part III, p. 240).

2 I had the pleasure of visiting the tomb of Avicenna at Hamadan on 17th November 1925. (*Vide* my *Book of Travels* (1924) 'મારી મુખ્ય બાહ્યની સેહેલ,' p. 375). There, he was known more as a physician than as a philosophic writer.

3 Elphinstone's *History of India*, 5th ed. by Cowell, p. 561.

We find the following passage in the *Wakiât-i Jahangir* about Prince Khurram getting the Honours conferred upon him. title of Shâh Jahan. Jahangir says:

"On Thursday, the 20th Mihr and the twelfth year of my reign, corresponding to the 11th of Shawwal A.H. 1026, at about three o'clock after noon, Prince Khurram arrived and obtained audience in the fort of Mandu. He had been absent from the Court for eleven months and eleven days. After he had paid me his respects, I called him in the window where I was sitting, and with the impulse of excessive paternal affection and love I immediately rose up and took him in my arms. The more he expressed his reverence and respect for me, the more my tenderness increased towards him. I ordered him to sit by me. He presented me with 1000 gold mohurs and 1000 rupees . . . . "Formerly, at the conquest of the Rana, a *mansab* of 20000 and the command of 10000 had been conferred on Prince Khurram, and when he was sent to the Dakhan, he was honoured with the title of Shâh. Now, in consideration of his present service, his *mansab* was promoted to a *mansab* of 30000 and the command of 20000 horse. I also conferred on him the title of Shâh Jahan. It was ordered that henceforth a chair should be placed for him in the Court next to my throne, an honour which was particularly conferred upon him, and had never before been known in my family."<sup>1</sup> From this long passage of Jahangir's *Wakiât*, we learn that Prince Khurram was given the title of Shâh before his expedition to the Dakhan and the title of Shâh Jahan after its successful termination.

About Prince Khurram's second expedition to Dakhan to suppress the rebellion, Jahangir speaks as follows in his *Wakiât-i-Jahangiri*:  
 Second Expedition to Dakhan. "In those happy days,<sup>2</sup> when I was

1 Elliot, History of India (Dowson), Vol. VI, pp.351-52.

2 1029 Hijri, 1620 A.C.

enjoying myself in hunting and travelling in Kashmir, despatches arrived from the Dakhin. When the Royal Court left the capital, evil-disposed men in the Dakhin, failing in duty and loyalty raised the standard of rebellion . . . . . On the former occasion, when I marched with the Imperial army to effect the conquest of the Dakhin, Khurram, who commanded the advance, arrived at Burhanpur. The insurgents, with that craft which distinguishes them, made him their intercessor and abandoned the Imperial territory. Now that they had once more thrown off their allegiance, it was my wish to send the Imperial army again under the command of Khurram, to inflict upon them the punishment they deserved, and to make them an example and warning for others. But he was engaged in the siege of Kangra, and many experienced officers were with him on that service, so that for some days I could not determine what to do. Letters arrived one after another, reporting that the insurgents having gathered strength, numbered nearly 60000 horse, and had occupied many parts of the Imperial dominions . . . . . By the favour of God, Kangra had fallen, and so on Friday, the 4th Deh, I sent Khurram to the Dakhin, and I conferred upon him ten *krors* of *dams* to be collected from the country after his conquest.<sup>1</sup>

Out of the two above successful expeditions to Dakhan, to suppress the rebellion there, Dastur Kaikobad's laudatory poem refers to the first. Dastur Kaikobad died on 29th October 1619 (roz 12, mah 12, year 988 Yazdajardi). So his poem cannot refer to the second expedition which took place in 1621.

Dakhan, i.e. the South, is the country between Northern India, broadly and generally spoken as Hindustan, and Southern India. It is spoken of as the Dakhan, or the South, because it is on the south of Northern India,

2. Dakhan, or  
Deccan,

1 Elliot's History of India, Dawson VI, pp. 377-78,

which alone in early times was known as India, Hind or Hindustan. The early Aryans had made Northern India, their home, driving away to Southern India the Dravidians, who themselves had come to India as foreigners.<sup>1</sup> The country known as Dakhan (Deccan) was a kind of midland between the two. It had taken up the culture of both parts, the culture of the Aryans of the North and the culture of the Dravidians of the South. It had, one after another, passed through the influence of the Mauryan emperors of Magadha in the North, of the Andhra kings in the South, of the Gupta kings—who, to a certain extent, may be said to be its own kings,—and of king Harshavardhan in the North and Pulakesin in the South. Mr. Beni Prasad, whose chapter<sup>2</sup> on the Dakhan sums up in brief the ancient history of the Dakhan, seems to say very properly that “the Deccan policy of the Mughals was a legacy of two thousand years of Indian history.”<sup>3</sup>

The Mahomedan history of the Dakhan began with Alaudin Khilji (about 1303 A.C.), who is supposed to be the predecessor of Akbar in his thought of giving one religion to the whole of India, with this difference that, when Akbar thought of doing so by discussions and persuasions, Alaudin Khilji thought of doing so by the force of his sword.<sup>4</sup> In his conquest, Alaudin Khilji was ably assisted by his general Kafur. The sway, exercised by Alauddin from Delhi, did not continue long. It gave way in the time of Mohammed Tuglak (1325-1351) and the Dakhan generals chose Hasan Gangu Bahmany to be at the head in 1347. His rule and his dynasty's rule lasted for a

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1 Fergusson speaks of them as allied to the Arcadian races of the West. (Cave Temples of India, p. 7).

2 History of Jahangir, Ch. XI, pp. 254 *et seq.*

3 *Ibid.* p. 254.

4 Smith's Akbar I, 209.

century and a half (1347-1498) and then it broke up into five following independent principalities :

1. The Imad Shahs at Berar (1484-1572).
2. The Barid Shahs at Bidar (1492-1609).
3. The Nizam Shahs at Ahmednagar (1490-1637).
4. The Adil Shahs at Bijapur (1489-1686).
5. Qutb Shahs at Golconda (1489-1686).<sup>1</sup>

The Dakhan, at the time, included Khandesh, Berar, Bidar, Ahmednagar, Golconda and Bijapur.<sup>2</sup> All the above Shahs, though they quarrelled at times among themselves, had united to overthrow the growing power of the Vijayanagar Empire in the further south.

It seems that, at first, Akbar's main object in conquering Dakhan was not so much for the country itself, but for the object of breaking the growing power of the Portuguese in India. Their maritime strength led them, at times, to be too exacting in the matter of the Mahomedan pilgrims who went on pilgrimage to Mecca from Surat. Owing to this maritime strength, Akbar did not dare to challenge them directly, but he was on a look out to find some means to curb their power. Vincent Smith thus speaks on the subject: "His (Akbar's) early direct attacks on the foreign (*i.e.* the Portuguese) settlements having failed, Akbar perceived that the subjugation of the Sultanates of the Deccan plateau was the necessary preliminary to a systematic assault in force on the European possessions along the coast."<sup>3</sup>

Akbar, in about 1591, first thought of conquering the above Shahi kingdoms of the Dakhan which had risen on the ruins of the Bahmani Empire. In August 1591, he sent

1 History of Jehangir, by Beni Prasad, p. 255.

2 Smith's Akbar I, p. 32.      3 *Ibid.* p. 264.

four missions to the kings of Khandesh, Ahmednagar, Bijapur, and Golconda. Khandesh, under its ruler Rajah Ali Khan of the Faruki dynasty, whose capital was Burhanpur, submitted and with his submission the great fort of Asirgadh<sup>1</sup> passed into the hands of Akbar.<sup>2</sup> Akbar, at this time, did not proceed further. In fact his peaceful mission to acquire Dakhan failed. In 1593, Akbar began a military invasion. At first, Ahmednagar was taken. In this affair, the celebrated brave lady, Chand Bibi, made a name. In the end, she made peace.<sup>3</sup> In 1567 Akbar had a victory, but Salim's (Jahangir's) attempts at rebellion stopped him from further action in the Dakhan.

When Jahangir came to the throne, he thought of continuing his father's attempts of conquering the Dakhan. But, at first, just as his attempts for the conquest of Dakhan. (Jahangir's) rebellion had prevented Akbar from carrying out his design in the Dakhan, so, his son Khusrau's rebellion prevented him from carrying out his design. The well-known general Malik Ambar, a born Abyssinian, was a great general who stood in the way of his conquest of Ahmednagar. The later rise of the Mahrathas, which culminated in the successes of Shivajee, indirectly owes a good deal to this Abyssinian Malik Ambar. Finding, that he could not stay against the large trained army of Jahangir in a pitched battle, he resorted to a kind of guerilla warfare among the mountains against Jahangir's army, and, for this purpose,

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1 For a brief account of this fort and its connection with Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, *vide* my paper entitled "A Persian Inscription of the Mogul times on a stone found in the District Judge's Court at Thana" (Journal B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXIV, pp. 137-161. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 149-173.)

2 Smith's Akbar, pp. 246-247.

3 *Vide* Smith's Akbar, Chap. X, for Akbar's operations in the Dakhan.

he trained and commanded Mahratha troops. This training under Malik Ambar laid the foundation of the rise of the power of the Mahrathas. Under all the above circumstances, the conquest of the Dakhan became a necessity for Jahangir. After several failures, he sent Khurram for its conquest and it is this event that forms the subject of the laudatory poem of Kaikobad. Jahangir first thought of going to Dakhan on the 2nd of Farvardin of the 10th regnal year (March 1615), when he was at Ajmer. He wanted, at first, to go to Mandu, from where he could better carry on operations. So, he gave orders that a new building may be built there for him and that the old may be repaired.<sup>1</sup>

He appointed Khurram to lead the vanguard, and, on the 8th of Aban of the next year (28th October 1616 A.C.). the camp equipage of Khurram's advance guard left Ajmer.<sup>2</sup>

Appointment of  
Khurram for the  
conquest of the  
Deccan.

Raja Suraj Mahal was to accompany Khurram. Mu'tammad Khan was to accompany Khurram as the paymaster of his army.<sup>3</sup> The *mansabs* of both these officers were increased. On the 20th of Aban (9th October 1616), on the day appointed for his departure, Khurram paraded before Jahangir with the "pick of his men" and was given the title of Shāh which was made a part of his name. He was now ordered to be called Shāh Sultan Khurram. He was presented with a robe of honour, an Iraq horse with a jewelled saddle, a Turki horse, an elephant named Bansi-badan (flute-bodied), an English-fashioned carriage, a jewelled sword, and a jewelled dagger.<sup>4</sup> Jahangir prayed that he may gain renown in his expedition. The following high officers accompanied Khurram in his advance guard :

1. Raja Suraj Mahal, who had a *mansab* of 2000

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1 Memoirs of Jahangir, Rogers and Beveridge's Translation, Vol. I, p. 280.    2 *Ibid.* p. 337.    3 *Ibid.* p. 338.    4 *Ibid.* pp. 338-9.

- personal and 2000 horse.
2. Mu'tammad Khan, who served as paymaster and had a *mansab* of 1000 personal and 250 horse.
  3. Abdu-llah Khan Firuz Jang.
  4. Dayānat Khan.
  5. Karan, the son of the Rana of Dudpur, who joined the army of Khurram, during the march.

Jahangir himself started for Dakhan from Ajmer on 21st Aban (10th November 1616), in a splendid English carriage drawn by four horses. As to the reason, why he started in a carriage, Jahangir says as follows:—

“It is the custom of the people of India that if the movement of kings or great men for the conquest of a country is towards the east they should ride a tusked elephant, and if the movement is towards the west on a horse of one colour; if towards the north in a palanquin or a litter (*singhāsans*), and if towards the south, that is in the direction of the Deccan (as on this occasion), on a *rath* which is a kind of cart (*arāba*) or *bahāl*<sup>1</sup> (two wheeled car).”<sup>2</sup>

In the march, there was continued communion between Khurram, who led the advance guard, and Jahangir. For example, Jahangir once sent two falcons to Khurram.<sup>3</sup> Khurram once sent a message, and, on his recommendation, the *mansab* of Badīu-z zamān, son of Mirza Shahrukh, was fixed at 1500 personal and 1000 horse.<sup>4</sup> Jahangir entered Mandu on Monday, the 23rd of Isfandār maz (February 1617). He took 4 months and two days to cover the distance of 159 *kos* between Ajmer and Mandu, travelling leisurely, drinking and hunting, visting Sanyāsis like Jadrup and

— 1 Cf. Gujarati *vehel* વેહેલ, Eng. wheel and *vehelvān* (વહેલવાન), one who drove carriages.

2 Memoirs I, p. 340.

3 Vide Beni Prasad's History of Jahangir, p. 287, for Jahangir's itinerary from Ajmer to Mandu.

4 Memoirs I, p. 160.



doing daily official work. After some days, he received a report from Khurram's advance guard, that Adil Khan, of his own choice, came and offered submission and promised to restore all the provinces seized by (Malik) Ambar. Early next year (12th Ilahi year, commencing on 20th of March 1617), on the 10th Farvardin (29th March), Jahangir sent a dress of honour to Khurram.

The News of  
Victory.

It was on the 29th of Tir (June 1617) that Jahangir received the good news of the victory in the Dakhan. He says: "Sayyid 'Abdu-Ilahi Barha, the envoy of my son,...waited on me, and presented a letter from that son containing news of a victory over the provinces of the Deccan. All the chiefs laying the head of duty in the noose of obedience, had consented to service and humility, and laid before him the keys of forts and strongholds, especially the fort of Ahmadnagar. In gratitude for this great favour and beneficence, placing the head of supplication on the throne of that God who requires no return, I opened my lips in thankfulness, and humbling myself, ordered them to beat the drums of rejoicing. Thanks be to Allah, that a territory, that had passed out of hand, has come back into the possession of the servants of the victorious State, and that the seditious, who had been breathing the breath of rebellion and boasting, have turned towards supplication and weakness, and become deliverers of properties and payers of tribute."<sup>1</sup> As Nur Jahan Begam gave him the first news of victory, he gave her "the *parganah* of Boda, the revenue of which is 200,000 Rupees."<sup>2</sup> Jahangir expected "an offering from the Deccan as no other king of this age has received."<sup>3</sup> He adds that, some days before, he had taken an augury from the Diwan-i Hafiz<sup>4</sup> and had a hope of victory.<sup>5</sup> Then,

1 Memoirs I, p. 380      2 *Ibid.*      3 *Ibid.*      4 Ode 192 "of Brockhaus' edition, p. 112, first couplet."      5 For the practice of taking augury from the books of great poets, cf. Sortes Virgilliance.

on the 3rd of Shahriyār (Shehrivar) a letter was received from Khurram "announcing the coming of Afzal Khan and Rāy Rayān and the arrival of the ambassadors of Adil Khan, and their bringing suitable offerings of jewels, jewelled things, elephants and horses,—offerings such as had never come in any reign or time and expressing much gratitude for the services and loyalty of the aforesaid Khan (Adil Khan), and his faithfulness to his word and duty. He asked for a gracious royal *farman* bestowing on him the title of *farzand* (son) and for other favours, which had never yet been vouchsafed in his honour."<sup>1</sup> Jahangir acted accordingly and gave the Khan, the title of *farzand*. Khurram himself went to his father at Mandu on the 20th of Mihr (12th October 1617). The separation between the father and son was, says Jahangir, of 11 months and 11 days. Jahangir embraced his son and rewarded his officers. He rewarded his son with a *mansab* of 20000 personal and 10000 horse. A special dress of honour, decorated with pearls, worth 50000 rupees, a jewelled sword with a jewelled belt and a jewelled dagger were presented to him. Again Jahangir "poured over his head a small tray of gold coins."<sup>2</sup> Not only that, but Jahangir poured over the head of Sarnak, an elephant of unusual size, form and beauty sent to him by Khurram (now Shah Jahan), a quantity of gold coins and gave it the name of Nur-bakht (light of fortune). Nur Jahan also gave an entertainment and presented to Khurram a dress of honour and other valuable things, all costing about Rs. 300000.<sup>3</sup> Khurram, on the other hand, presented to his father Jahangir articles worth "Rs. 2260000 or 75000 *tumans* of the currency of Iran....Such offering had never been made during this dynasty."<sup>4</sup>

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1 *Ibid.* pp. 387-88.2 *Ibid.* p. 395.3 *Ibid.* p. 397.4 *Ibid.* p. 401.

Kaikobad speaks in his poem of Ahmednagar as the next place of importance which should draw the attention of Khurram. Kaikobad seems to have thought very properly

3. Ahmednagar,  
c. 39.

of the strategical importance of the city and its territory from what had happened in Akbar's time. In the territories comprised in the Dakhan, and in the history of the Dakhan, Ahmednagar played a very important part. When Akbar first thought of conquering the Dakhan, Ahmednagar, being close to his territories, was the first to draw his attention. It was in October 1593 that Akbar sent an army of 70000 horse and a large number of infantry under his son Danyal, aided by able officers, for its conquest, but with no success. In June 1595, Prince Murad was appointed at the head of the army in place of Danyal. By that time, its king Burhan-ul-mulk died (4th April 1595). Just then, when the officers and the people got apprehensive about the future of Ahmednagar, there appeared on the scene for the defence of the country a brave lady, who has immortalized, not only her name, but the name of the brave womanhood of India. She was Chand Sultana, popularly known as Chand Bibi, who was the widow of the late king of Bijapore and sister of the deceased king Burhan-ul-mulk. She bravely commanded the defence of Ahmednagar and inspired with courage her soldiery, during the siege by the army of Akbar. But, in the end, she could not stand against the vast resources of Akbar and concluded peace, acknowledging the suzerainty of Akbar. Her powerful personality secured easy terms for Ahmednagar. She then formed an union of three states of the Dakhan—Ahmednagar, Bijapore and Golconda,—but mutual jealousies and quarrels did not make the union successful. Chand Bibi died in a fight and Akbar's imperial army won a great success in February 1597. Akbar himself went to Dakhan to carry the victory

to a more successful issue and besieged Asirghad, which fell after a long and arduous siege. At this time, Jahangir (then Salim) rose in rebellion in the North and Akbar had to leave the Dakhan to suppress the rebellion of his son. Thus, the fruits of his victory were lost.

We read as follows in the Wakiât-i-Jahangiri about this town of Ahmednagar: "From the time of the conquest of Ahmednagar by my late brother Daniyel to the present, the place had been under the command of Khur Aga Beg Mirzâ Safawa, a relation of Shah Tahmâsp of Persia; but since their late success the Dakhanis had invested the town. Every effort was made to defend the place . . . . Khur Aga Beg did his best to console and encourage them (the troops); but in vain, so he capitulated on terms and retired with men to Burhanpur."<sup>1</sup>

## VI

### REFERENCES IN THE POEM TO THE PERSONAGES OF ANCIENT IRAN.

Kaikobad's poem refers to several personages and events mentioned in the ancient History of Iran. I will now speak of them. Among the personages, we find the mention of the following with brief references, here and there, to their doings: Rustam and Sohrab, c. 33; the son of Pashang, cc. 34, 42; Jamshed, c. 74; Faridun, c. 23; Goduruz, c. 50; Giv, c. 50; Barzu, c. 50; Framarz, c. 50.

Rustam was the national hero of Irân. He is the Râstastâm of the Pahlavi Bundelesh.<sup>2</sup>  
 Rustam and Sohrab, c. 33. He is also referred to in the Pahlavi Aiyadgâr-i Zarirân<sup>3</sup> and Shatroiha-i Airân.<sup>4</sup> The known etymology, which derives his name

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<sup>1</sup> Elliot's History of India (Dowson) II, pp. 323-24. <sup>2</sup> S B. E. Vol. V, 1st ed., p. 140. Bundelesh Chap. XXXI, 41. *Vide* my Bundelesh, p. 176. <sup>3</sup> *Vide* my Aiyâdgâr-i Zariran, p. 11. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 91.



of the Avesta. Faritun (𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌) of the Pahlavi books, Faridun of the Shāh-nāmeḥ, Traitana, (त्रैतन) of the Hindu books.<sup>1</sup>

Kaikobad wishes that Khurram may be as exalted on his throne as Jamshed. Jamshed is the Jamshed, c. 74. Yima Khshaeta (𐬵𐬀𐬮𐬀𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌) of the Avesta, Yama (यम) of the Vedas, Jam (जम) of the Pahlavi books and Jamshed of the Persian books. The reference to his seat seems to be a reference to Firdousi's account of his sitting on a resplendent throne on the Jamshedi Naoroz day (1st Farwardin) from which Akbar and his son Jahangir calculated their years. He was the founder of the great Naoroz day, known thereafter by his name.<sup>2</sup>

Kaikobad asks that Khurram may prepare an army of brave warriors like Godurz, Giv, Burzo, Rustam and Framroz. Godurz was the Godurz, c. 50. Rustam and Framroz. Godurz was the Prime-minister of the Iranian Kaikhosru as Piram was that of the Turanian Afrâsiâb. Both were respective Nestors of their king's courts. He was known as the wisest man of the Iran of his times and was a father of 72 sons and grandsons.

He was the son of Godurz and a son-in-law of Rustam. Giv, c. 50. He is made to play a prominent part in the episode of Bezan and Manijeh in the Shāh-nāmeḥ. He was known more as an astute person than a brave man, though the Shāh-nāmeḥ more than once speaks of his feats of courage and bravery. He was the husband of Bânû Goshasp, the well-known daughter of Rustam, who also has a separate nāmeḥ (book) written on her exploits known as Banu Goshasp-nāmeḥ. The story

1 For a fuller account of this person, *vide* my Dictionary of the Avestaic Proper Names (p. 99).

2 For further particulars, *vide* my Dictionary of Avestaic Proper Names (p. 153).

is that her marriage with Giv was a kind of royal Swayamvara<sup>1</sup> (marriage or self-choice).

He was a grandson of Rustam. To describe his feats, Attai, one of the poets who imitated Barzu, c. 55. Firdousi, has written a special poem called Burzo-nâmeḥ. It is an epic of about 65000 couplets.<sup>2</sup>

He was the youngest son of Rustam and he is spoken of as having come even to India. His exploits are sung by one of the poets of Persia Framarz, c. 50. who has written a special poem known as Framarz-nâmeḥ.<sup>3</sup>

Kaikobad says to Khurram, "Knock them (the Dakh-anis) down with your heavy club as did Rustam in the case of the demons of Mazindaran. Mazindaran was the northern part of Persia bordering on the Caspian sea. It often gave trouble to the Iranian kings. The "Div-i-Mâzindarân" of Kaikobad's poem are the "Daeva Mazainya" (دِی مَزَایَا) of the Avesta (Vendidad XVII 9, 10).<sup>4</sup> It is said that "Mâzindarân occupied in the Iranian legend nearly the same place as Ceylon in the Ramâyana." As to Rustam's wars with the wicked people (demons) of this country, we have a very long account in the Shâh-nâmeḥ of Firdousi,<sup>5</sup> wherein, the Div-i-Sufid, i.e. the White

1 For another instance of this, *vide* my paper "An Instance of Royal Swayamvara as described in the Shâh-nâmeḥ of Firdousi." Jour. B. B. R. A. S. of 1918. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part III, p. 57 *et seq.*

2 *Vide* M. Mohl's Shâh-nâmeḥ, Introd. pp. 77 *et seq.*

3 *Vide* M. Mohl's Preface of his Livre des Rois (small edition), Introd. pp. 73 *et seq.*

4 Kavasji Edulji Kanga's Avesta Dictionary, p. 404.

5 *Vide*—

(a) Mohl's French translation, small edition, Vol. I, pp. 424 ff.

(b) Dastur Minochehr's Translation, Vol. I.

(c) Kutar Brothers' Gujarati Translation, Vol. II.

(d) Warner Brothers' English Translation, Vol. III, pp. 253 *et seq.*

Demon, may be taken as a counterpart of the Rāvan of Lanka (Ceylon).

## VII

### KAIKOBAD'S AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES IN THE POEM.

Kaikobad refers in this poem to Akbar as one, of whom he was a *khaneh-zād*, cc. 79, 81. He says that Akbar had given him two or three offices (*khedmat*)<sup>1</sup> and had given him 300 *bighas* as *madad-i-maash*. As I have spoken on these matters fully in my paper on "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana" and also partly in that of Kaikobad's petition,<sup>2</sup> I will not speak on them again here.

Kaikobad speaks of Jahangir three times in this poem, cc. 15, 22, 84. He says that Jahangir had ordered Khurram to go to the Dakhan, and so he (Kaikobad) would be much pleased if Khurram won a victory. He adds that he had a *farman* from Jahangir. This seems to refer to the *farman* about the Desāigiri of Naosari and Parchol, given to him by Jahangir and referred to in Kaikobad's petition. I have spoken more fully about this in the paper on Kaikobad's petition. So, I will not say that again here.

Kaikobad does not give the date, as to when he addressed his poem to Prince Khurram. But we can approximately fix the time. Akbar had failed to conquer the country Dakhan as a whole. Jahangir, on coming to throne, had in mind his father's project of conquering it. But the revolt of his son in the early part of his reign prevented him from

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1 The Persian line expressive of this is well-nigh the same as that in Kaikobad's petition. 2 Journ. K. R. Cama Oriental Institute No. 31.



carrying out his project successfully. Malik Ambar, the Abyssinian general of Ahmednagar, had recovered all the territories that were lost to the Mogul kings. In 1608, Jahangir had sent Khan Khanan there with a large army. In 1610, Prince Parvez was appointed to be the head of the army. Then Khan Jahan Lodi was sent there in 1610. He could not do much. So Khan Khanan was re-appointed and sent there in 1612. He gained partial success. He continued in command till 1616. This Moghal commander could not gain a complete success as the Dakhanis were carrying on a kind of guerilla warfare. So, at last, Jahangir himself thought of moving nearer to Dakhan. He arranged to go to Mandu and carry on arrangements from there. Khurram desired to go to the Dakhan. Nur Jahan recommended that Khan Khanan may be recalled and Khurram sent there. He started in October 1616. So, it appears, that the poem was written in or about October 1617.

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In the circulated prospectus of this Parliament of Religions, it is said that "the general subject for consideration is 'How to combat the prevailing apathy towards Religion in Modern Society, promotion of world peace and human brotherhood.'" So, I take up, for the subject of my paper, the subject of "A Zoroastrian View of Brotherhood."

It is, as it were, a fashion for all ages, to cry that "there is not that bond of brotherhood among us now as that which existed before our times". Plutarch (A.C. 50-120) made a similar remark about 1800 years ago. He said: "But I see Brotherly Love is as scarce in our days as brotherly hatred was in ancient times."<sup>1</sup> It seems that there are ebbs and tides by which humanity passes from age to age. The Sat-yugs (golden ages) have not left us for ever. If we are in the Kal-yug (dark age), we will not continue to be so. It is generally said, that we are now in the midst of the ebb. If so, let us pray for the tide. Prayer without action is not of much avail. So let us act. The movement handled by the Brahmo-Samaj is therefore in the right direction.

The Pazend *âfrîns*, or prayers invoking blessings among the Parsees, present, to a great extent, the view of Brotherhood entertained by the ancient Zoroastrians. The passage of one of the *âfrîns* placed at the head of this paper, is a typical passage, the spirit of which pervades all the *âfrîns* and most of the older Avesta Scriptures. The *Âfrîn* prayers play a tune, which sings, as it were, "Be in tune with the Universe." These *Âfrîns*, recited after the *Afringâns*, ask the worshippers to be in harmony with the whole Nature.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch's *Morals*, Vol. III, Part VII, p. 127.

They speak of observing *hamâzôr* with Space and Time—with divisions of Space and Time.

One will easily observe, that the word *hamâ-zôr* repeatedly occurs in these âfrîns. It is one of the few technical words of the Parsee scriptures, which cannot be properly translated into another language. In order to give an idea of the signification of the word, I will quote here, what I have said on the subject in my paper, entitled "The Kiss of Peace among the Bene-Israels of Bombay and the *Hamâ-zôr* among the Parsees."<sup>1</sup>

"The word *Hamâ* in *Hamâzôr* is Avestâ *hama*, Sanskrit *sam*, Lat. *similias*, English *same*. The word *zôr* is Avesta *zaothra* and comes from the root, 'zu,' to perform a ceremony. So, the word *Hamâzôr* means 'to be the same or to be one in ceremony'. One of the principal celebrants or participants in the ceremony, by passing his hands in the hands of others, makes them symbolically participate in the ceremony he had performed. The members of the congregation, by performing the *Hamâzôr* with one of the principal celebrants, make themselves participants in the ceremony. While performing the *Hamâzôr*, they recite the words 'Hamâzôr, Hamâ ashô bed' i.e. 'May you be one with us in the ceremony, may you be ashô or righteous.' The recital of the words signify and emphasize the object and aim of the performance of the *Hamâzôr* ceremony. The ultimate aim of all ceremonies, rites and sacrifices, is to elevate the mind and thoughts of the performers of the ceremony or of the worshippers. A sacrifice

1 Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 84-95. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 283-94. *Vide* p. 287 for the quotation. *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees, (1922), pp. 401-407. *Vide* my Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects (Gujarati), Vol. II.

does not fulfil its object, unless it makes the participant 'sacred', unless it elevates his thoughts, unless it makes him a better man. So, the celebrants or the participants in the ceremony, by performing the Hamâzôr and uttering the above benediction, wish each other to be *asho* or righteous.

"From the fact that the Hamâzôr was performed in the liturgical services, with a view to signify participation and unity, and with a wish that the person with whom it was performed may be righteous, the Hamâzôr has come to signify a religious or solemn way of communicating one another's good wishes on the Naoroz or the New Year's Day. It is in connection with the New Year's Day that the Hamâzôr is best known to the laymen. Early in the morning that day, after washing themselves and putting on new suits of clothes, members of the family exchange this form of salutation and expression of good wishes. Friends do the same when they meet one another. Members of a family, or friends, if at variance, are expected to forget, on the New Year's Day, their differences and to unite and be friendly by performing the Hamâzôr with one another. A generation or two ago, it was a custom for the head of a main family, *i.e.* the senior or older member representing the chief block from which several families had descended, to call a *mijlas* or a gathering at his place in the morning of the New Year's Day for the purpose of the Hamâzôr. All the members of the family met there and exchanged this form of salutation.

"We see, from what is said above, that behind the exoteric or outward passing of the hands in the Hamâzôr, signifying unity and harmony, there lies the esoteric idea which demands, that the participants must unite in the work of righteousness. Thus, behind what we may call 'physical Hamâzôr', there is what we may term the 'spiritual Hamâzôr'.

The participants in the ceremony are asked to be one with the chief celebrants in some religious acts which may lead to an increase of righteousness in the world.

“ From that view of the question, we find that, there is not only the idea of the Hamázôr—the physical Hamázôr—between man and man, but there is also a kind of Hamázôr—a spiritual Hamázôr—between Man and Nature, between Man and Nature’s God. The Pâzend Âfrîns recited in the Âfringân ceremonies, at the end of which the Hamázôr is performed, are replete with expressions about this kind of Hamázôr with Nature and Nature’s God. For example, in the Âfrîn of Ardâfrosh, there is a long list of such spiritual Hamázôrs—Hamázôr with Ahura Mazda and Hamázôr with many abstract ideas—all leading to the conception of a righteous, moral life. The lesson, which this part of the Âfrîns inculcates, is this: one must try to be one with the Harmony, Order, System, established by God in Nature. The divisions of time and space in the grand Infinity of Time and Space—divisions brought about by the movements of heavenly bodies—are all intended with a view to Harmony, Order, System. So let Man try to be one with that Harmony, that Order, that System in Nature.”

From this point of view, man has to do his duty not only to Man, but to all animal world; not only to animal creation, but even to vegetable creation; not only to the animate world but even to the inanimate world. Each and all objects in this Universe, created at the hands of that great Architect of the world, have to be useful to the other objects of the Universe, small or great. That Man is a fortunate man, a god-gifted man, who does his best to bring about results, by which all the objects of the world may be useful to one another. It is this idea, which is at the bottom, when Ruskin says that even a part of the vegetable world, the beautiful trees and shrubs of a forest grieve when a war is being waged

in the country. Owing to the war, owing to the presence of the enemy close by, people do not dare to go out in the country and to enjoy the beautiful bloom of flowers, shrubs and trees. The trees and flowers, as it were, burn with the desire to show their new foliage to the people of their country and thus to be useful to God's human creation, but they are disappointed to find that, owing to war, people do not go out to enjoy their beauty. Wherever there is perfect beauty, beauty of body and beauty of mind, there is Truth and God is Truth. So, a Parsee divine,<sup>1</sup> thinking in the above train of Zoroastrian teaching, advises, that whenever you see a thing of beauty, say "Ba nām-i Yazad" (*i.e.* by the name of God).

When a Parsee recites his prayer of Nemô-âongham, known as *Châr dishâ ni namâz* (ચાર દીશાની નેમાઝ) and utters words of homage to the Nature, animate and inanimate around him, his line of thoughts suggests a kind of Universal Brotherhood, not only Human Brotherhood but brotherhood with the whole Nature. But we have to be confined to-day to the question of Human Brotherhood.

Upto a few years ago, after the recital of the âfrîn which treats of the hamâ-zôr, the *râthwi*<sup>2</sup> went to all worshippers who had assembled for prayers and performed a manual, a hand to hand, *hamazor*. This hamâzôr "is a particular way, in which, at the end of several ceremonies, one person passes his hands into the hands of another person. One person, say A, holds forth both his hands flattened out and in the position of the thumbs being uppermost and the palm of one hand facing

<sup>1</sup> Vide my Persian Farziât Nâmeh and Kholasehi Din of Dastur Darab Pahlam, pp. 21 of the text and 31 of the translation.

که هر چیزی که خوش آید بپشت بنام ایزد بگو از روی حرمت

<sup>2</sup> The assistant priest, *vide* my Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees, p. 202.

parallel to the palm of the other. Another person B, with whom he makes the hamâzôr, similarly holds forth his hands placing his flattened right hand between A's flattened hands. This process places the flattened right hand of A, in turn between B's flattened hands. Thus each holds the right hand of another in the folds of his hands. Having thus placed them, they, with a graceful movement, withdraw the right hands and similarly pass their left hands in the folds of the hands of another. After thus passing their hands into each other's hands, they lift their hands towards their heads just as if to touch them with the tips of their fingers, which is the usual way of saluting elders or superiors."<sup>1</sup> In religious gatherings all the members present perform the hamâzôr with the next few persons on their left and right and in their front or at their back. Thus, the whole assembly however large it may be, performs this hand to hand hamâzôr.

The performance of the hamâzôr is accompanied with the recital of these four words: 'Hamâzor Spiritual Hamâzôr hamâ asho bed', i.e. 'May you be one with us. May you be perfectly *asho* or righteous.' Behind this physical hamâzor, which symbolizes hand to hand co-operation there is the spiritual hamâzôr, spiritual co-operation, in the cause of brotherhood for advancing righteousness all round. Thus hamâzôr symbolizes Brotherhood—brotherhood that imposes upon all the duty of mutual help.

Signification of the word, Brother.	The word brother, which is common among many Aryan or Indo-Germanic nations, is very significant. It is Avestan brâtar (Pahl. barât, Pers. barâdur برادر, Sanskrit bhrâtar भ्रातर,
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1 My "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees", pp. 401-2.



Gothic *brothar*, German *bruder*, Lat. *frater*, Fr. *frère*. It comes from an old Aryan root *Av. bar* ( 𐬨𐬁 ), Sans. ( भर ), Pahl. 𐭠𐭥𐭥, Pers. بردن, Lat. *ferre*, English *bear*, i.e. to bear or carry, help or support others. So, though generally and ordinarily, the word brother is used in connection with one's family, in its broad etymological sense, it refers to brotherhood, beyond the family circle, to the brotherhood of the great family of humanity.

It is one of the laws enjoined by Nature that all must be, as it were, "in tune with the Universe." Brotherhood, a Law of Nature. In order to fall in that tune, to observe *tune*, brotherhood among mankind is essential. Aristotle is said to have affirmed that: "Whoever delighted in solitude is either a wild beast or God." We are not gods; so, to be free from the stigma of being taken as wild beasts, we all have to cultivate relations of brotherhood. Aristotle held that man is primarily a social being, and that, in order to have a full and happy life, he must have a social organization. Brotherhood is at the bottom of, or is the basis of, such organization. Among the numerous definitions of religion, given by various thinkers, one is that which, according to the derivation of the word (*re* and *legere*, to bind or collect) points to brotherhood. Religion tells us how to observe a kind of relationship with the Architect of the Universe and with His universe. Relationship carries with it the idea of duty. As a recent writer says: "It is not too much to say that without the help of others an individual man could not succeed in maintaining his existence. He depends for existence upon parents and upon their capacity and willingness to help him through the incompetent stages of infancy and childhood, and his dependence upon others accompanies him throughout his life."<sup>1</sup> The Parsis wear a sacred

<sup>1</sup> Article on "Church and State" by the Right Reverend the Bishop of Oxford, in the *Contemporary Review* of November 1928 p. 553 ff.

thread (*Kūsti*) and their word *bast-Kūstīān* i.e., all those who tie the (*Kūsti*), suggests a binding tie of brotherhood.

That "German Hafiz", Goethe, has in his *Parsi-nameh* of his *West-östlicher Divan*, excellently presented the inspiring and uplifting view of the ancient Zoroastrians on this subject of mutual help or brotherhood. In this democratic age, it is not only inspiring and uplifting for the masses but soothing and pacifying. In this age, when Labour has risen and is rising against Capital in an aggressive way, the old Iranian view, if well perceived by Labour, will pacify them.<sup>1</sup>

Goethe represents an old Iranian as making his last Testament, and presents a beautiful view of the "Dignity of Labour" and of the noble spirit in which Labour takes pride in helping the cause of Brotherhood in the world. Indirectly, it teaches Capital to suppress or subordinate its pride, if any, and to meet Labour in a broad spirit of Brotherhood as a man. However rich one may be, even if he were a king or a prince, he has to depend, not only for his happiness, but even, as it were, for his existence, upon the poor labourer, who hews the wood and plucks cotton-buds (*pumbé*) from cotton plants. As Sir Walter Scott says: "The race of mankind would perish, did they cease to aid each other. From the time that the mother binds the child's head, till the moment that some kind assistant wipes the death-damp from the brow of the dying we cannot exist without mutual help. All, therefore, that need aid, have a right to ask it from their fellow-mortals; no one who holds the power of granting, can refuse it without guilt."<sup>2</sup>

1 *Vide* my Paper "Goethe's *Parsi-Nameh* or *Buch des Parsen*" i.e. the *Book of the Parsees* (*Jour. B.B.R. A. Society* Vol. XXIV pp. 66-95. *Vide* my *Asiatic Papers*, Part II, pp. 119-148).

2 "Sir Walter Scott", quoted in "Many Thoughts of Many Minds."



For such broad ideas of Brotherhood, we must have some high ideals before us for guidance.

Zoroastrian ideal in conformity with the broad idea of Brotherhood.

Zoroastrian books speak of such high ideals to be drawn by us from various directions. The best ideal for all is that of

God himself. Man must try to be to all and to everything round him, as Ahura Mazda, as God himself, is to his grand Nature. In his Articles of Faith, a Zoroastrian says:

“Yā varanô Ahurô Mazdâo.....tâ varenâchâ tâkaeshâchâ.” The literal rendering of this Article of Faith is: “I am of that desire, which is the desire of Ahura Mazda. I am of that law (*i.e.* Ahura Mazda’s law).” I think, of all the translators, Darmesteter has very well put in, the teaching of this article of faith. “Ce qu’aime Ahura Mazda.....c’est là ce que j’aime, c’est là ma loi”<sup>1</sup>, *i.e.* “What Ahura Mazda likes.....is what I like; that is my law.”

Here the Zoroastrian worshipper holds Ahura Mazda, God Himself, before his mind, as the highest ideal. In the marriage blessings (*ashirvâd*), recited over a Parsee marrying couple, it is prayed by the priest: “Kâm anjâm bed chûn Ahura Mazda Kudâe pa dâmân-i khish”, *i.e.* “May the end of your desires be like those of Ahura Mazda in His creation.” Here also, the highest ideal of desires in life, held before the marrying couple and before all Zoroastrians,<sup>2</sup> is that of God Himself. It means to say that “Let your desires be like those of God in connection with His world.” A similar blessing is: “Hû kerdâr bed chûn Ahura Mazda Khodâe ba dâmân-i Khesh, *i.e.* May you be a worker of good as is Ahura Mazda in His Creation.” The pith of

1 Le Zend Avesta, Volume I. p. 120.

2 This blessing also forms a part of the Afrin (Prayer of blessing), known as “Afrin-i Buzorgân”, *i.e.* The Blessings in the names of the great.

all these teachings is: "Be like God." Let God be your highest ideal for conduct. Your *gauri* of *gauri*.

This teaching is well illustrated by a classical story.

The Story of  
Julian and Marcus  
Aurelius.

Emperor Julian is said to have given us in his History of the Cæsars, an idea of how to best observe our relationship with God. He imagined the souls of various well-known kings as passing before the gods, so that the gods may declare who was the best ruler. He first represented Alexander the Great as passing before the gods. They questioned him: "What was his principal aim in life?" His reply was: "To conquer the world." The soul of Julius Cæsar said that his principal aim was to acquire the highest post in his State. Augustus Cæsar said in reply that his aim in life was "to rule well". When the turn of Marcus Aurelius came for a reply, he said, his main object was "to imitate the gods". It is said, that the judging gods were pleased with this reply. The object of the reply was, that Man's ideal in life must be the highest and the best. That best and highest ideal is that of God. The best thing for a man is to imitate God.

We all love our own Scriptures which present before us

The Book of Nature. the commandments of God. A Hindu has his Vedas, a Mahomedan his Koran, a Jew his Talmud, a Christian his Bible, a Parsee his Zend-Avesta. These books may differ and do differ. Even people, and even scholars, of one and the same religion, though possessing the same book of Scriptures, differ. But there is one book which is common to all and that is "The Book of Nature". When all people do not read, and even if they read, do not well understand their own scriptures, this Book of Nature is one which all can read for themselves and understand. You can freely draw

from it, lessons for your conduct, and among them, the lesson of brotherhood.

We generally speak of the teaching of the three R's (reading, writing and arithmetic). If we speak in a similar abbreviated form, the three L's learnt from the Book of Nature. Book of Nature gives us an excellent lesson of the three L's—Law, Labour and Love.

Goethe has said: "Gazing at Nature formed the basis of the worship of the ancient Parsees. Whilst adoring the Creator, they turned towards the rising Sun, as the most striking glorious phenomenon. They fancied, they saw there God's throne, surrounded by brilliant angels. The pomp of this elevating worship was daily within reach of every one, even the most lowly. The poor would step forth from his hut, the warrior from his tent, and the most religious of actions would be accomplished. To the new-born child the baptism of fire was administered in such rays, and all day long, and all life long the Parsee saw himself accompanied by the Great Luminary in all his doings. The moon and the stars were lighting up the night; they too were out of reach belonging to the realms of the endless. Fire, on the contrary, walks by man's side, giving light and warmth to the best of its capacity. It becomes a sweet and pious duty to say prayers in the presence of this substitute, to bow to what was felt as infinite."<sup>1</sup>

Gaze, as said by Goethe, to Grand Nature and you will find everywhere, Law, Labour and Love. Love points to brotherhood. There is perfect brotherhood in the work of Nature. Mutual help is seen everywhere. We have not to speak of Law and Labour at present but have to confine ourselves to Love. The beautiful Moon looks to the Sun for its light. The Sun, in its turn, looks to Ether for the trans-

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1 *Vide* my paper "Goethe's Parsi-nameh". Jour. B.B.B.A. Vol. XXIV, p. 92. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, p. 145.

mission of its light to the earth. The Earth has to look to the heavens, to the clouds, for rain to fructify it. The clouds have to look to the air to drift them to the different parts of the earth. The Air has to look to the Sun again for the production of its air-currents or winds to carry rain to various parts of the earth. Thus, the grand Nature presents to us the lesson of Love, Brotherhood, Mutual help. Even the Law (Order, Harmony, System), prevalent in Nature gives us deserving lessons of brotherhood. There is co-operation everywhere in Nature. Even Labour observed in Nature is not without its lessons. There is Labour, Work, Energy everywhere in Nature. There is hard Work, there is Economy and there is Mutual help in Nature, thus reminding us of the advice:

Get all you can (by Work)

Save all you can (by Economy)

Give all you can (through Love, Brotherhood).

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# THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE,

## REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1928.

The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute beg to submit their report of the work of the Institute for the year 1928.

*Public Lectures.*—During the year under report, three public lectures were delivered under the auspices of the Institute as under:—

1. "Iranian Civilization in Central Asia", by Prof. Luders, Professor of Sanskrit at Berlin University. President: Mr. M. P. Khareghat, I.C.S. (Retd.). 12th January 1928.

2. "The Zend Avesta and the Magyars—Turan and Iran", by Prof. Francis Zajti of Budapest, Hungary. President: Shams-ul Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., Ph.D. 18th December 1928.

3. "The Development of the Magyar Psyche", by Prof. Francis Zajti of Budapest, Hungary. President: Mr. M. P. Khareghat, I.C.S. (Retd.). 19th December 1928.

*Government Fellowship Lectures.*—Prof. Ernest P. Horowitz of Hunter College, New York City, who was appointed Government Fellowship Lecturer for 1928, delivered a series of eight lectures on "Indo-Iranian Philology, a Study of Semantic Etymology, History of Cultural Words", as under:—

1. "Phonetics and Semantics, The Indo-Iranians". 30-1-1928.

2. "Vagrants and Farmers, The Racial Rift". 2-2-1928.

3. "Family Life". 6-2-1928.



4. "Romance of Numerals". 7-2-1928.
5. "Religious Terms". 9-2-1928.
6. "Dragon Fight". 10-2-1928.
7. "Barter and Trade". 15-2-1928.
8. "Morals and Metaphysics. The Need of Semantic Studies in Indian Schools". 16-2-1928.

Revd. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D., was appointed Government Fellowship Lecturer of the Institute for the year 1929.

*Celebration of the anniversary of the death of Mr. K. R. Cama.*—The nineteenth anniversary of the death of Mr. K. R. Cama was celebrated on Monday the 20th August 1928, at 6 p.m. (S.T.) in the Hall of the Institute, when Revd. Father H. Heras, S.J., Professor of History, St. Xavier's College, presided. Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., gave a discourse on "The Petition in Persian Verse of Dastur Kaikobad Meherjirana to the Moghul Emperor Jahangir".

*The Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize (Rs. 500) for 1927.*—A prize essay was invited by the 31st December 1927 for the Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize for 1927, of Rs. 500 as under:—

"A lucid and thoroughly intelligible translation in English of the Khordeh Avesta consisting of the undermentioned prayers, in due accordance with grammar and philology, with notes and comments wherever necessary:—

Ashem Vohu, Yatha Ahu Vairyo, Kem na Mazda and other prayers.

Three essays were received and Messrs. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, M.A., and Bomanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar, M.A., were appointed examiners. According to the report of the examiners, none of the essays was found worthy of the prize. The Executive Committee announced the same subject for a fresh prize competition of Rs. 500,

the day for submitting the prize essay being fixed at 31st May 1929.

*The Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize (Rs. 225) for 1928.*—As declared in the last report, a prize essay was invited by 31st December 1928 for the Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize for 1928 of Rs. 225 as under :—

“A lucid and thoroughly intelligible translation, in English, of the following Yashts, in due accordance with grammar and philology, with notes and comments wherever necessary: Aban Yasht, Khorshed Yasht, Mah Yasht, Tir Yasht, Gosh Yasht, Meher Yasht.”

The Committee regret to say that no essay was received for this competition.

*Publications.*—1. The English translation of the five Gathas, by Mr. Khodabax Edalji Punegar, B.A., for which he was awarded the Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize of this Institute, is being printed as a separate number of this Institute's Journal. In this work, Mr. Punegar has given a full translation of the Gathas in due accordance with grammar, discussed the text wherever necessary, given notes on difficult Avestan words, including their interpretation by others, and added a substance and a summary of the Gathas.

The Executive Committee have resolved to publish 500 extra copies of the translation and summary as a separate publication of this Institute.

2. Prof. Horowitz's Government Fellowship Lectures are being printed in the Institute's Journal and 300 extra copies are being issued as a separate publication.

3. The work of copying out the two volumes of the Persian Burzo Nameh sent for from the Columbia University of New York City has been completed during the year

of the report. The question of publication is under consideration.

*The New Executive Committee.*—The three years' term of office of the Executive Committee appointed in 1925 having terminated on 31st July 1928, the Trustees of the Institute have made new appointments to the same to be in force for three years from 1st August 1928 to 31st July 1931, as under:—

Mr. M. P. Khareghat, I.C.S. (Retd.), President.

Shams-ul Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sajana, B.A., Ph.D.

} Vice-Presidents.

Mr. Sorabji Edulji Warden,

Mr. Rustam K. R. Cama, B.A., LL.B.,  
(Solicitor).

Miss Serene Manekji Cursetji.

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.

Mr. Jehangir R. Patel, B.A., LL.B.

Rev. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J.,  
Ph.D.

} Members.

Mr. Shapurji K. Hodiwalla, B.A.

Mr. Ratanji F. Gorvala, M.A.

Mr. Kaikhushru H. Cama.

Ervad Bamanji N. Dhabhar, M.A.

Mr. Pestonji K. Motivala, M.A., LL.B.

Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, B.A.

Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji  
Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

} Jt. Hony. Secretaries.

Mr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria, M.A.

*The Fifth All-India Oriental Conference.*—The following gentlemen were elected delegates to represent this Institute at the Fifth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Lahore in November 1928:—

Rev. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann S.J., Ph.D.

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.

Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.,  
Ph.D., C.I.E.

*The Thirteenth Maratha Literary Conference.*—Mr. S. K. Hodiwala, B.A., was appointed a delegate for the Thirteenth Session of the Maratha Literary Conference held at Gwalior in April 1928.

*Members of the Institute.*—In the beginning of the year, there were 233 Life Members and at the end 222.

The Annual Members in the beginning of the year numbered 71 and their number at the end of the year stood at 71.

*New Life Member.*—Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart.

*New Annual Members.*—Mr. Hoshang T. Anklesaria. Mr. K. A. Gai, Mr. Ardeshir Maneckji Surveyor.

*Committee Meetings.*—Four meetings of the Executive Committee were held in 1928.

*Obituary.*—The Executive Committee regret to record the sudden death of the second Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart., who was the President of the Board of Trustees of this Institute and took a great interest in the work thereof.

*Donation.*—The Executive Committee convey their best thanks to the sister and children of the late Bai Aimae K. R. Cama for their kind donation of Rs. 100 contributed to the Bai Aimae K. R. Cama Prize Fund on the occasion of the 33rd anniversary of her passing away,

The Committee's thanks are also due to "a well-wisher" for a donation of Rs. 10 on the occasion of the anniversaries of the death of his father and mother.

*Gifts of Manuscripts.*—The Executive Committee beg to convey their best thanks to a Parsi sympathiser, who has chosen to remain anonymous, for kindly presenting to the Institute a very valuable manuscript of the Persian Ar dai Viraf Nameh in verse, 300 years old, containing illustrations painted in different colours. This manuscript was purchased by the anonymous donor for Rs. 300 and presented to

this Institute. The Ms. was written by Burzo Kamdin, the compiler of the Rivayet known by his name.

The Committee's thanks are also due to the same gentleman for presenting a manuscript of the Persian Burzo Nameli, which was bought by him for Rs. 200.

*Gifts of Books and Journals.*—The best thanks of the Executive Committee are due to the institutions and private individuals, who have presented the following books, journals, reports, etc. to the Institute:—

#### LIST OF BOOKS AND JOURNALS PRESENTED.

“Mirat-i-Ahmadi”, Persian Text, Part II (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Volume XXXIV) (presented by the Baroda State).

“A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts” by Kuppaswami Sastri (presented by the Government Press, Madras).

Shree Sayaji Sahityamala, Nos. 59, and 108 to 117 (presented by the Baroda State).

Shree Sayaji Baldnyanmala, Nos. 71 to 77 (presented by the Baroda State).

“શ્રીરત્ના સ્વપનાની ગરબીઓ” presented by Dr. J. J. Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

“The Gathas of Zarathushtra” by Poure-Davoud (presented by Muncherji Framji Cama Athornan Institute.)

તોહફે જમશીદ.

સદ્દરે બેહેરે તવીલ.

માકુલાતે બહમની.

દબેસ્તાનનો તરજુમો.

કીસ્સે કામ રૂપ ચાર કલાકામ.

(Presented by  
Fakirji Kersaspji  
Golwalla, Esq.).

(The following nine books were presented by Mr. Kaikhushro Dadabhoy Choksi of Colombo):—

ઈરાનના ઓળખાવ લોકોએ જરથોશ્તી લોકોની રાહે રાસ્તી ઉપર  
મેહેજર લખ્યો છે.

એક કરીશતી તા. એક જરથોશ્તી વચ્ચે સવાલ જવાબ.

સુરતના પારસીઓના દાવરને અનજીમને લખી આપેલા મેહજરો.

રવાનોને અવલમજલ પોંચાડવા સંબંધી રાસ્ત ગોફતારે ઉઠાવેલી તકરારનો રદ જવાબ.

મદદે ફરેશ્તે.

મરહુમ ફરુર એફલજ દારાબજ શાંજીના મરત્યુક બાબે નમોજમરોહમાં છપાવ્યું તે ઉપર શરેહ.

Agreement in Persian between Brahmins and English.

પાદશાહ ઈઅજહેઝરફ તખતે એકો તેના વરસની ગનતરી.

અરદાએ વીરાફ, ૩૩ થઝદોની સેતાએશ, તથા બહુમન યશત (ગુજરાતી હસ્તલેખ.)

“Le Bayon d’Angkor” by Philippe Stern (Annales du Musée Guimet Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation, Tome 47) (represented by the author).

“Ain-e Zardusht” (Persian) (presented by the author).

“Les Castes dans l’Inde” by Emile Senart (presented by the author).

“Ameshaspandan” (Persian Verse by Aga Poure-Davoud and translation by Mr. D. J. Irani) (presented by a friend).

“Archæological Survey of India,” Volume XIII, New Imperial Series (presented by Shams-ul Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.).

“A brief sketch of the life of the Prophet of Islam,” (presented by the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaat Islam, Lahore).

“Mirat-i-Ahmadi”; A History of Gujarat in Persian (presented by the Baroda State).

“Vaishnavism of the Gowd Saraswat Brahmins, etc. and a few Konkani Folklore Tales”. (Presented by Rao Saheb Dr. V. P. Chavan, L.M. & S.).

"The Konkani Proverbs" (presented by Rao Saheb Dr. V. P. Chavan, L.M. & S.).

"The Archaeological Survey of India; The Bakhshali Ms." Pts. I and II (presented by Shams-ul Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.).

"Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 25, Basreliefs of Badamip" (presented by Shams-ul Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.).

"Mirat-i Ahmadi". Supplement (presented by the Baroda State).

"Le Musée Guimet, Annales Du Musée Guimet" (1918-1927) (presented by Mons. Bibliothèque de la Musée Guimet).

Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise (presented by Mons. Bibliothèque de la Musée Guimet).

"The Vidyamadhaviyam of Vidya Madhava with Vishnusarma's Muhurthadipika" (presented by the Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore).

"The Sarasvativilasa of Sri Prataparudram Mahadeva Maharaja Vyavaharakanda" (presented by the Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore).

"Abhilashitartha Chintamani of Someswara Deva)" (presented by the Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore).

"Turanian Songs by Arpad Zemleni" (presented by Dr. Kurtz Guszstavne, Budapest VII, Tstvan, ut 11).

"Cambodge Fetes Civiles et Religieuses par Adhemard Leclere" (presented by Musée Guimet).

"La Theorie de la Connaissance et la Logique" (presented by Musée Guimet).

"Amulettes Siamoises." Notes on (presented by Musée Guimet).

“Trois Conférences sur les Gatha de l’Avesta”  
(presented by Musée Guimet).

“The Supposed Sculpture of Zoroaster on the Tak-i-Bostan” by Sir J. C. Coyajee (presented by the author).

ଦେବୁ କୁଞ୍ଜବିହାରୀ ଦଶାବଧୀ (presented by Mr. Nadirshaw Dhunjibhoy Debu).

“Advaita and Platonism” by Prof. Ernest P. Horowitz, New York (presented by the author).

Government Oriental Series, Class A. No. II. “Siddhantabindu,” by Madhusudanasarasvati, (presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona).

Government Oriental Series, Class B, No. 2. “Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. II,” by Narayan Bapuji Utgikar (presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona).

“Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series No. XLIX. Nyayakosa or Dictionary of Technical Terms of Indian Philosophy” by Mohamahopadhyaya Bhimacarya Jhalakikar (presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona).

“ଭରଜେର ନାମୁ’ (ହାସ୍ତାନ ସୁସନ ରାମୀଶଗର)” by Dhunjibhoy Nowroji Patel (presented by a Parsee gentleman).

“Zoroastrian Studies” by Prof. A. V. W. Jackson (presented by the author).

“A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts collected during the Triennium 1919-20 to 1921-22” (presented by the Government of Madras).

“ସମୁଦ୍ର ଗରଭାଞ୍ଚୋ ଅଥବା ରାଶରା ଗାବାନୀ ଦୀଞ୍ଚ ନବୀ ଶୋପରୀ.” ବନାବ ନାର ଶୋରାଞ୍ଚ ହୋରମଞ୍ଚ (presented by a friend).

“ସମୁଦ୍ର ଗରଭାଞ୍ଚୋ ଅଥବା ରାଶରା ଗାବାନୀ ଶୋପଣୀ” (presented by a friend).

“Arja Es Kaukazusi Elemek. A Finn-Magyar Nyel-vekbén”, by Munkacsi Bernat (presented by Prof. Francis Zajti).



"A Hun Magyar Ostortenelem", by Prof. Francis Zajti (presented by the author).

"A Zend Avesta Vallasi Rendszere" by Dr. Haitseh Gyula (presented by Prof. Francis Zajti).

"A Hunokrol Akik Meghodontottak Indiat", by Prof. Francis Zajti (presented by the author).

"Zarathustra Zend-Avesztaja", by Prof. Francis Zajti (presented by the author).

"The Moral and Ethical Teachings of Zarathushtra", by Maneekshaw Nowroji Dastur, M.A. (presented by Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi).

"Amashaspandān (Persian Verse)" by Aga Poure-Davoud (presented by a friend).

The following Journals etc. were received in exchange of the Institute's Journal or presented by individuals or publishers:

Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 32, by Pandit B. B. Bidyabinod (presented by Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.).

A Guide to the Brahmanical Gallery of the Archæological Section, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, by G. V. Acharya.

Die Letzten Jahre der Sund. Inaugural Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwurde, Vorgelegt von Harald Frisch.

Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, September 1927 to October 1928.

Rabghuzis Syntax von Jacob Schinkewitsch Inaugural Dissertation by Friedrich-Wilhelms.

Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum. The Littoral Fauna of Krusadai Island in the Gulf of Manaar by Madras Government.

The Asiatic Review, New Series, Vol. XXIII, No. 76, October 1927; Vol. XXIV, No. 77, January 1928; Vol. XXIV, Nos. 78-79-80 and 81, April, July and October 1928 and January 1929.

Journal of the Telugu Academy (four numbers).

Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise Sere Francaise I, 1927.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft Neue Folge Band 6—Heft 3-4 1927 (Band 81) Band 7 Heft 1-2 1928 (Band 82).

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 3 and 4, January and April 1928; Vol. XIX, Nos. 1 and 2, July and October 1928.

The Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. II, Parts 2-4 (October 1927, January and April 1928); Vol. III, Part I (July 1928).

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. III, No. 4, December 1927; Vol. IV, Nos. 1-3 (March, June and September 1928).

Ayandeh, Vol. II, Nos. 8 to 10, Revue Politique, Tehran 1928.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XIII, Parts III and IV (September-December 1927); Vol. XIV, Parts 1 and 2 (January-March 1928).

Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Quarterly, Vol. VIII, Nos. III and IV, Vol. IX, No. 1.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 47, No. 4 (December 1927); Vol. 48, Nos. 1-3 (March, June and September 1928).

Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni, Anno III, 1927, Vol. III, Fascicolo 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, Institution Vol. IV, Part IV.

Le Monde Oriental, Vol. XXI, Fasc. 1-3, 1927.

Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, Vol. XII, No. 2 (April 1928) and No. 3-4 (October 1928).

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXII, No. 6; Vol. XXIII, 1927, Nos. 1 and 2.

Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, 1927, Heft 2-3; 1928 Heft 1.

Reports of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for 1926-27 and 1927-28.

Journal Asiatique Recueil de Memoires et de Notices, Tome CCXI, July-September 1927.

"Sudmand", a Journal in Persian Language.

Asiatica (a monthly record of literature), Vol. 1

British Mazdaznan, Vol. IV, Nos. 5-12; Vol. V, Nos. 1-4, January-December 1928.

Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1928.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. IX, Part I (1927-28).

Report of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions.

Bulletin of the Iran League, March to October 1928.

Bulletin de l'Universite de l'Asie, Centrale Livraison 16.

Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India, 1927.

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, Vol. I, Nos. 1-2, March and September 1928.

नागरी प्रचारिणी पत्रिका, भाग ८-अंक २

राहे अथुश्च पुस्तक ६, वे. ४; पुस्तक १० वे. १-३.

डोमुदी, साक्षीत्य अने संस्कृतितानु' त्रीभासीक योपानु'.

### BOOKS PURCHASED.

The following books have been purchased during the year under report:—

“A History of Urdu Literature” by Ram Babu Saksena.

“Philips’ Authentic Imperial Maps for Tourists and Travellers. Persia, Afghanistan and Baluchistan.”

“Sanskrit-Drama and Dramatists” by K. P. Kulkarni.

“Sanskrit-German Dictionary,” Vol. VII, by Bohtlingk and Roth.

“History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. II. The Creative Period”, by Messrs. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D., and R. D. Ranade, M.A.

“Early Religious Poetry of Persia” by J. H. Moulton.

“The Cambridge Ancient History,” Vol. I. Egypt and Babylonia to C. 1580 B.C. (edited by Messrs. Bury, Cook and Adcock).

“The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. II. The Egyptian and Hittite Empires to C. 1000 B.C.” (edited by Messrs. Bury, Cook and Adcock).

“The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. Ancient India” (edited by E. J. Rapson).

“The Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. II. Foundation of the Western Empire (with maps)” by Messrs. Gwatkin and Whitney.

“The Excavations at Babylon” by Robert Koldewey.

“A short History of Indian Literature” by Ernest Horowitz.

- "Babylonian Problems" by Lt.-Col. W. H. Lane.
- "The Poems of Nizami" described by Laurence Binyon.
- "Le Livre des Rois" (Firdousi), Tomes 1 to 7.
- "The Persian Gulf. An Historical Sketch from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the 20th Century."
- "The Psychology of Asia."
- "The Bakhtiaris."
- "The Financial and Economic Situation of Persia, 1926."
- "A Periplus of the Persian Gulf."
- "History of the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus."
- "The Indo-European Telegraph Department."
- "The Literature of Persia."
- "The Importance of Persia."
- "The Charm of Persia."
- "A little Persian not a dangerous thing."
- "The Beauties of Persia."
- "The Persian Press and Persian Journalism."
- "An Account of the Main Events in Persia during 1912 to 1913."
- "Persian Autonomy."
- "Persia. Its people and their Language."
- "The Cambridge Ancient History," Vol. III.
- "Vedic Metre in its Historical Development."
- "Comparative Religion."
- "The New History of the Mirza Ali Muhammad the Bab."
- "A Vocabulary of the Persian Language" in two parts.
- "Correspondent de l'Academie" (Coup d'Oeil sur l'Histoire).

"A Journey through Azerbaijan and Persian Khuristan."

"Persian Culture."

"Persian Manners and Customs."

"The Book of the Dead." (Vols. 1 and 2).

"Die Sonne und Mithra im Awesta."

"Das Awesta Alphabet und der Ursprung der Armenischen und Georgischen Schrift."

"Les Contes du Perroquet."

"Le Livre de Gerchasp Poeme Persan d'Asadi Junior de Tous."

અર્દા વિરાઈનામુ', બેરોમી by Jehangir Burjorji Sanjana, B.A.

"Persian Translation of Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia" by Prof. Isphani.

એહવાલે રાહનુમાએ માજહ્યસ્તાન પ્રગત કરનાર પાહલવનજી બરજોજી દેશાઈ.

"The Empire of the Great Mogol" (by J. S. Hoyland). Aklaq-i mohisini.

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The audited accounts are attached hereto.

## THE K. R. CAMA

*Balance Sheet as on*

LIABILITIES.				Rs. a. p.		
<b>Balance of—</b>						
General Fund	...	...	...	2,00,260	0	5
Fellowship Fund	...	...	...	30,211	4	2
Dr. E. J. Khory Fund	...	...	...	14,529	8	0
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	5,997	12	4
Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	3,563	10	9
Surat Parsi History Fund	...	...	...	2,898	15	6
K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund	...	...	...	1,631	15	6
T. R. N. Cama Fund	...	...	...	6,212	9	0
Revayat Publication Fund	...	...	...	3,983	2	6
Total ...				2,69,288	14	2

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,

*Hon Treasurer.*

## ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

*31st December 1928.*

ASSETS.		Rs.	a.	p.
Cash with the Imperial Bank of India (Rs. 5,024-5-4)				
Bai Aimal K. R. Cama Fund Account	... ..	910	12	9
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund Account	... ..	1,170	4	4
All other Accounts	... ..	2,943	4	3
Securities of Rs. 2,62,408-1-6:—				
(With Imperial Bank of India as per Safe Custody Receipt).				
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes Rs. 74,200 face value	... ..	58,806	15	0
5 per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 500	... ..	500	0	0
6 per cent Government Promissory Notes (1931) of Rs. 84,300	... ..	84,512	6	6
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bond Rs. 500	... ..	500	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds Rs. 1,17,800	... ..	1,18,088	12	0
Furniture and Fixtures...	... ..	1,856	4	7
Total		2,69,288	14	2

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,  
*Incorporated Accountants (London),*  
*Honorary Auditors.*

*Bombay, 4th June 1929.*



## THE K. R. CAMA

No.

*Account of the General Fund for the*

CREDIT.		Rs.	a.	p.
OPENING BALANCE (Rs. 1,99,834-0-10).				
Securities on 1st January 1928 consisting of—				
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of	Rs. 59,800	47,018	12	0
5 per cent Government Promissory Notes (1945-55) of	500	500	0	0
6 per cent Bonds (1931) of	34,000	34,212	6	6
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds of	500	500	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of	1,15,500	1,15,788	12	0
Furniture and Fixtures	...	1,814	2	4
RECEIPTS (Rs 11,500-4-10)—				
Life and Annual Membership subscriptions	...	810	0	0
Donations	...	10	0	0
Interest on Investments	...	8,761	5	0
Fees for use of Institute Hall	...	55	0	0
Income transferred from Dr. E. J. Khory's Account	...	861	12	0
Sundries	...	42	12	0
Addition to furniture and fixtures	...	140	0	0
Administration charges received from Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund	...	18	13	10
" " Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Fund	...	8	11	0
" " K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund	...	6	4	0
" " The Fellowship Fund	...	125	11	0
" " The Mulla Feroze Library.	...	660	0	0
Total Rs.		2,11,334	5	8

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.  
*Incorporated Accountants (London),*  
*Honorary Auditors.*

Bombay, 4th June 1929.

## ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

*year ending 31st December 1928.*

DEBIT.				Rs. a. p.		
Balance on 1st January 1928	...	...	...	1,836	0	0
CAPITAL PAYMENTS :—						
Addition to Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	...	140	0	0
Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	...	97	11	0
OTHER PAYMENTS (Rs. 9,000-10-3)—						
Salaries and Wages	...	...	...	3,620	0	0
Rent	...	...	...	3,300	0	0
Books and Periodicals	...	...	...	1,292	7	0
General Charges	...	...	...	424	14	9
Printing and Stationery	...	...	...	164	4	0
Postage and Stamps	...	...	...	113	10	6
Clothing to Peons	...	...	...	60	0	0
Insurance	...	...	...	25	6	0
CLOSING BALANCE (Rs. 2,00,260-0-5) on 31-12-1928 :—						
Cash	...	...	...	383	10	7
Securities as on 1st January 1928	...	...	...	1,98,019	14	6
Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	...	1,856	7	4
Total Rs.				2,11,334	5	8

KAIKHASEU HORMUSJEE CAMA,

*Hon. Treasurer.*

No.

## FELLOWSHIP

*Dr.*

1928				Rs.	a.	p.
March 19	Journal Printing charges	...	...	777	8	0
June 8	Paid Prof. Horowitz	...	...	1,200	0	0
July 18	Journal Printing charges	...	...	571	4	0
Dec. 31	Administration charges at 7 per cent on income	...	...	125	11	0
	Balance	...	...	30,211	4	2
				32,885	11	2

No.

DR. E. J. KHORI

*Dr.*

1928				Rs.	a.	p.
Dec. 31	Transferred to General Fund account	...	...	861	12	0
	Balance	...	...	14,529	8	0
				15,391	4	0

No.

SAROSH K. R. CAMA

*Dr.*

1928				Rs.	a.	p.
	Stamp on Cash Certificate	...	...	0	1	0
	Transfer fees charged by Bank	...	...	6	2	0
	Administration charges at 7 per cent on income	...	...	18	13	10
	Balance	...	...	5,997	12	4
				6,022	13	2

2

## FUND ACCOUNT.

*Cr.*

1928		Rs. a. p.		
Jan.	1	Balance:—		
		6 per cent Bonds	... 30,000 0 0	
		Cash	... 1,090 3 2	
				31,090 3 2
		Intrest on Bonds in 1928	... ...	1,795 8 0
				32,885 11 2

3

## FUND ACCOUNT.

*Cr.*

1928		Bs. a. p.		
Jan.	1	Balance:—		
		6 per cent Bonds	... 14,400 0 0	
		Cash	... 129 8 0	
				14,529 8 0
		Interest on Bonds received during 1928.		861 12 0
				15,391 4 0

4

## FUND ACCOUNT.

*Cr.*

1928		Rs. a. p.		
Jan.	1	Balance:—		
		B. Port Trust Bonds	... 1,000 0 0	
		6 per cent	... 3,700 0 0	
		3½ per cent G. P. Notes	... 127 8 0	
		Cash	... 927 15 2	
				5,755 7 2
		Interest on Securities	... ...	267 6 0
				6,022 13 2

No.

## BAI AIMAI K. R. CAMA

*Dr.*

1928				Rs.	a.	p.
	Stamp on Cash Certificate	...	...	0	1	0
	„ Power of Attorney	...	...	10	0	0
	Transfer fees	...	...	3	10	0
	Renewal fees	...	...	3	0	0
	P.D.O. Charges re P/A.	...	...	1	0	0
	Administration charges at 7 per cent on income	...	...	8	11	0
	Balance	...	...	3,563	10	9
				3,590	0	9

No.

## SURAT PARSI HISTORY

*Dr.*

1928				Rs.	a.	p.
Dec. 31	Balance	...	...	2,898	15	6
				2,898	15	6

No.

## K. R. CAMA ANNIVERSARY

*Dr.*

1928				Rs.	a.	p.
	Anniversary gathering expenses	...	...	48	0	0
	Administration Charges at 7 per cent on income	...	...	6	4	0
	Balance	...	...	1,631	15	6
				1,686	3	6

5.

## FUND ACCOUNT

*Cr.*

1928					Rs.	a.	p.
Jan.	1	Balance:—					
		6 per cent Bonds	...	700	0	0	
		B. P. T. Bonds	...	1,300	0	0	
		3½ per cent G.P. Notes					
		Face Value Rs. 900	...	652	14	0	
		Cash	...	714	10	9	
							3,367 8 9
		Interest on Securities	...				122 8 0
		Donation received	...				100 0 0
							<u>3,590 0 9</u>

6.

## FUND ACCOUNT

*Cr.*

1928					Rs.	a.	p.
Jan.	1	Balance:—					
		3½ per cent G. P. Notes					
		Rs. 3,700 purchased at	...	2,379	9	0	
		Cash	...	390	6	6	
							2,769 15 6
		Interest on securities received during the year	...				129 0 0
							<u>2,898 15 6</u>

7.

## FUND ACCOUNT

*Cr.*

1928				Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Jan.	1	Balance:—							
		6 per cent Bonds	...	1,500	0	0			
		Cash	...	96	7	6			
							1,596	7	6
		Interest accrued on Bonds during the year.					89	12	0
							<u>1,686</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>

No.

T. R. N. CAMA

*Dr.*

1928 Dec. 31	Balance	...	...	..	Rs. a. p. 6,212 9 0
					6,212 9 0

No.

REVAYET PUBLICATION

*Dr.*

1928 Dec. 31	Balance	...	...	..	Rs. a. p. 3,983 2 6
					3,983 2 6

8

## FUND ACCOUNT.

*Cr.*

		Rs. a. p.	
1928			
Jan. 1	Balance:—		
	3½ per cent G. P. Notes...	5,000	0 0
	Cash ...	1,027	15 0
	Interest received during 1928 ...		174 10 0
		6,037	15 0
		174	10 0
		6,212	9 0

9

## FUND ACCOUNT

*Cr.*

		Rs. a. p.	
1928			
Jan. 1	Balance:—		
	3½ per cent G. P. Notes Face Value		
	Rs 4,600 at cost ...	3,628	4 0
	Cash ...	194	10 6
		3,822	14 6
	Interest accrued on the securities during 1928 ...		160 4 0
		3,983	2 6